

L I V Y.

VOL. II.

L I V Y.

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GEORGE BAKER, A.M.

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‘ This translation is executed with general fidelity and perspicuity.’—BIBLIOTHECA BRITANNICA.

HISTORY OF ROME.

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HISTORY OF ROME.

BOOK IV.

CHAP. 1. THE next who succeeded in the consulship were Marcus Genucius and Caius Curtius, whose year was disturbed by commotions, both at home and abroad. [A. U. C. 310. B. C. 442.] For, in the beginning of it, Caius Canuleius, a tribune of the people, proposed a law for allowing the intermarriage of patricians and plebeians, which the former considered as tending to contaminate their blood, and to confound all the distinctions and privileges of noble birth. Some hints, too, suggested by the tribunes, that liberty ought to be granted of choosing one of the consuls from among the commons, were afterwards improved to such a degree, that the other nine tribunes proposed a law that the people should have power of electing consuls, either from among the commons or the patricians, as they should think fit. The patricians were of opinion that if this took place the supreme authority would not only be shared with the very lowest ranks, but perhaps be intirely removed out of the hands of the nobility into those of the plebeians. With great joy, therefore, they received intelligence that the people of Ardea, in resentment of the injustice of the sentence which had deprived them of their land, had revolted ; that the Veientians were laying waste the Roman frontiers, and that the Volscians and Æquans expressed great discontent on account of the fortifying of Ver-

ruge, preferring even a war, which promised not success, to an ignominious peace. These tidings being brought, with exaggerations, the senate, in order to silence the intrigues of the tribunes during the bustle of so many wars, ordered a levy to be held, and preparations for hostilities to be made with the utmost diligence, even with more dispatch, if possible, than had been used in the consulate of Titus Quintius. On which Caius Canuleius declared aloud in the senate that 'the consuls would in vain think of diverting the attention of the commons from the new laws by holding out objects of terror to their view; and that, while he was alive, they should never hold a levy until the people had first ratified the laws proposed by him and his colleagues;' and then he instantly called an assembly.

2. Whilst the consuls were employed in rousing the indignation of the senate against the tribune, the tribune was as busy in exciting the people against the consuls. The latter asserted that 'the outrageous proceedings of the tribunes could not be any longer endured: that matters were now come to a crisis, there being more dangerous hostilities excited at home than abroad: that for this the commons were not more to be blamed than the senate, nor the tribunes more than the consuls. In any state, whatever practices meet with rewards, these are always pursued to the greatest degree of proficiency, and these are the incitements which call forth merit, both in peace and war. Now, at Rome, there was nothing so highly rewarded as sedition; this was in every instance attended with honors both to individuals and to collective bodies. They ought therefore carefully to consider in what condition they had received the majesty of the senate from their fathers, and in what condition they were likely to hand it down to their children; whether they could make the same boast which the commons might, with respect to their privileges, that it was improved both in degree and in splendor. No end appeared of these proceedings, nor would, so long as the fomenters of sedition were rewarded with honors in propor-

tion to the success of their projects. What were the new and important schemes which Caius Canuleius had set on foot? No less than the prostitution of the privileges of nobility, and the confounding the rights of auspices, both public and private; that nothing might be left pure and unpolluted; and that every distinction being removed, no person might know what himself was, nor to what order he belonged: for what other tendency had such promiscuous intermarriages than to produce an irregular intercourse between patricians and plebeians, not very different from that between brutes? So that, of their offspring, not one should be able to tell of what blood he was, or in what mode he was to worship the gods, being in himself a heterogeneous composition, half patrician and half plebeian? And, not content with the confusion which this would create in every affair, divine and human, those incendiaries, the tribunes, were now preparing to invade the consulship itself. At first they had ventured no farther than to sound people's sentiments in conversation on a plan of one of the consuls being elected from among the commons; now, they publicly proposed a law that the people might appoint consuls, either from among the patricians, or from among the plebeians, as they should think fit; and there could be no doubt that they would appoint from among the commons the most seditious that could be found. The Canuleii and Iciliii therefore would be consuls. But might Jupiter supremely good and great forbid that the imperial majesty of the sovereign power should sink so low as that; and for their part they would rather die a thousand deaths than suffer such disgrace to be incurred. They were confident, that could their ancestors have foreseen, that in consequence of unlimited concessions the commons, instead of showing a better temper towards them, would become more intractable, and, as fast as they obtained their demands, would advance others more unreasonable and exorbitant, they would have struggled at first with any difficulties whatever, rather than have allowed such terms to be imposed on them. Be-

cause a concession was then made to them with respect to tribunes, it was for the same reason made a second time. This would be the case for ever. Tribunes of the commons and a senate could not subsist together in the same state; either the office of the former, or the order of the latter must be abolished, and it was better late than never to endeavor to put a stop to presumption and temerity. Must they with impunity, after they have by sowing discord, encouraged the neighboring nations to attack us, prevent the state afterwards from arming and defending itself against the attack which they have brought on it? and, when they had done every thing but send an invitation to the enemy, prevent troops from being enlisted to oppose that enemy? But Canuleius has had the audacity to declare openly in the senate that he would hinder the making of the levy, unless the senate, acknowledging in a manner his superiority, allowed his laws to be enacted. What else was this than to threaten that he would betray his country; that he would suffer it to be attacked, and to fall into the enemy's hands! What courage must that declaration afford, not to the Roman commons, but to the Volscians, to the Æquans, and Veientians? Might not these hope that, under the guidance of Canuleius, they would be able to scale the capitol and the citadel; might they not hope this, if the tribunes, while they stripped the patricians of their privileges and their dignity, robbed them also of their courage?' The consuls concluded by saying that they were ready to act as their leaders, first against the wicked practices of their countrymen; and afterwards, against the arms of their enemies.

3. At the very time while such arguments as these were urged in the senate Canuleius was employed in declaiming in favor of his laws, and against the consuls, in the following manner: 'Roman citizens! in many former instances I have seen enough to convince me in what degree of contempt the patricians hold you, how unworthy they esteem you to live in the same city, within the same walls with them. But this is now more clearly than ever demonstrated by their outrageous op-

position to those propositions of ours. And this, for what? unless for reminding them thereby that we are members of the same community with themselves; and that, though we possess not the same degree of power, we are yet inhabitants of the same country. By the one, we require the liberty of intermarrying with them, a liberty usually granted to people of the neighboring states, and to foreigners: for we have admitted even vanquished enemies to the right of citizenship, which is of more importance than that of intermarriage. By the other, we offer no innovation, we only reclaim and enforce an inherent right, that the Roman people should commit the high offices of the state to such persons as they think proper. And what is there in this that can justify the patricians in thus disturbing heaven and earth? Their treatment of me just now in the senate, very little short of personal violence? Their open declarations that they will have recourse to force, and their threatening to insult an office which has been held sacred and inviolable? Can the city no longer subsist if the Roman people are allowed to give their suffrages with freedom, and to intrust the consulship to such persons as they may approve; or must the downfall of the empire ensue, if a plebeian, how worthy soever of the highest station, is not precluded from every hope of attaining to it? And does the question, whether a commoner may be elected consul, carry the same import as if a person spoke of a slave, or the issue of a slave, for the consulship? Do you not perceive, do you not feel, in what a despicable view you are considered? Were it in their power, they would hinder you from sharing even the light of the sun. That you breathe, that you enjoy the faculty of speech, that you wear the human shape, are subjects of mortification to them. But then they tell you, that truly it is contrary to the rules of religion that a plebeian should be made consul. For heaven's sake, though we are not admitted to inspect the records,¹ or the annals² of the pontiffs,

¹ The records, in which the names of the magistrates, in succession, and the most memorable events, were recorded.

² The annals were a compendious registry of events, as

are we ignorant of the things which even every foreigner knows? That consuls were substituted in the place of kings, and consequently have no kind of privilege or dignity which was not possessed before by kings? Do you suppose that we never heard it mentioned that Numa Pompilius, not only no patrician, but not even a citizen of Rome, was invited hither from the country of the Sabines, and made sovereign at Rome, by the order of the people, and with the approbation of the senate? That Lucius Tarquinius, of a race which, so far from being Roman, was not even Italian, the son of Demaratus a Corinthian, having come hither a stranger from Tarquinii, was raised to the like high station, though the sons of Ancus were alive? That after him Servius Tullius, the son of a captive woman of Corniculum, his father not known, and his mother in servitude, obtained the crown through his abilities and merit? Need I speak of Titus Tatius, the Sabine, whom Romulus himself, the founder of the city, admitted into partnership in the throne? The consequence was, that while no objection was made to any family, in which conspicuous merit appeared, the Roman empire continually increased. It well becomes you to show disgust now at a plebeian consul; though our ancestors disdained not to call foreigners to the throne, nor even after the expulsion of the kings, ever shut the gates of the city against foreign merit. It is well known that we since admitted the Claudian family from among the Sabines, not only into the number of citizens, but even into that of the patricians. May a person, then, from a foreigner, become a patrician, and in consequence, consul; and shall a citizen of Rome, if he be a commoner, be cut off from every hope of the consulship? Is it deemed impossible that a plebeian can be a man of fortitude and activity, qualified to excel in peace and war, like Numa, Lucius Tarquinius, and Servius Tullius? Or, should such appear, shall we still prohibit him from meddling with the helm of government? In they occurred, made by the pontiffs, who likewise had the care of the records, and kept both carefully shut up from the inspection of the lower order.

a word, shall we choose to have consuls rather resembling the decemvirs, the most profligate of mankind, who in their time were all patricians, than like the best of the kings, who were new men ?¹

4. ' But it is argued, that since the expulsion of the kings, there has been no instance of a plebeian consul. What then? Is no new institution ever to be known? Must every measure not heretofore practised, (and in a new state there must be many measures not yet introduced into practice,) be therefore rejected, even though it should be evidently advantageous? In the reign of Romulus there were neither pontiffs nor augurs; Numa Pompilius introduced them. There was no such thing in the state as a general survey, and distribution of the centuries and classes, until instituted by Servius Tullius. There was a time when there never had been consuls; on the expulsion of the kings they were created. Of a dictator neither the office nor name had existed; in the time of our fathers it was introduced. There had never been tribunes of the commons, ediles or questors; and yet it was resolved that those offices should be created. The office of decemvirs for compiling laws, we ourselves have within the last ten years both created and abolished. Who is not convinced that in a city, founded for eternal duration, and growing up to an immense magnitude, many new offices, both civil and religious, many new rights, both of families and individuals, must necessarily be instituted. This very rule, prohibiting the intermarriage of patricians and plebeians, was it not enacted by the decemvirs within these few years, with the utmost injustice towards the plebeians, on a principle highly detrimental to the public? Can there be any insult greater or more flagrant, than that one half of the state, as if it were contaminated, should be held unworthy of intermarrying with the other? What else is this than, within the same walls, to suffer all the evils of rustication or of exile? They are anxious to

¹ The first in a family who attained any of the superior magistracies was called a new man.

prevent our being united to them by any affinity or consanguinity ; to prevent our blood from being mingled with theirs. What ! if this would be a stain on that nobility, which the greater number of you, the progeny of Albans and Sabines, possess, not in right of birth or of blood, but of co-optation into the body of the patrician ; having been elected, either by the kings, or after their expulsion, by order of the people, could you not preserve its purity by regulations among yourselves ? By neither taking plebeian wives, nor suffering your daughters and sisters to marry out of the patrician line ? No plebeian will offer violence to a noble maiden ; such outrageous lust is to be found only among nobles. None of them would compel any man against his will to enter into a marriage contract. But it is the prohibition of it by a law, the intermarriage of patricians and plebeians being interdicted ; this is what the commons must consider as an insult. Why do you not procure a law to be passed that the rich shall not marry with the poor ? A matter which in all countries has been left to the regulation of people's own prudence, that each woman should marry into whatever family she has been betrothed to, and each man take a wife from whatever family he had contracted with ; this you shackle with the restraints of a most tyrannical law, whereby you tear asunder the bands of civil society, and split one state into two. Why do you not enact that a plebeian shall not dwell in the neighborhood of a patrician ? That he shall not travel on the same road ? That he shall not appear at the same entertainment ? That he shall not stand in the same forum ? For what more material consequence can in reality ensue should a patrician wed a plebeian woman, or a plebeian a patrician woman ? What alteration is thereby made in the rights of any person ? Surely the children follow the condition of the father. So that neither have we any advantage in view from intermarriage with you, except that of being considered on the footing of human beings and of fellow-citizens ; nor is there any reason for contesting the point, unless

you feel pleasure in laboring to subject us to scorn and insult.

5. ' In fine, let me ask you, whether is the supreme power vested in the Roman people, or in you? Was the expulsion of the kings intended to procure absolute dominion to yourselves, or equal freedom to all? Is it fitting that the Roman people should have the power of enacting such laws as they choose? or whenever any matter of the kind has been proposed to their consideration, shall you, by way of punishment, pass a decree for a levy of troops? And as soon as, in capacity of tribune, I shall begin to call the tribes to give their suffrages, will you, in the office of consul, compel the younger citizens to take the military oath, and lead them out to camp? Will you menace the commons? Will you menace their tribune? As if he had not already experienced, on two several occasions, how little such menaces avail against the united sense of the people. I suppose it was out of regard to our interests that you did not proceed to force; or was the avoiding of extremities owing to this, that the party which possessed the greater share of strength possessed also a greater degree of moderation? Romans, there will now be no occasion for force. Those men will on every occasion make trial of your patriot spirit: your strength at home they will never try. Wherefore, consuls, to those wars, whether real or fictitious, the commons are ready to attend you, provided that by restoring the right of intermarriage you at length unite the state into one body; provided they are allowed to coalesce, to intermix with you by the ties of relationship; provided the road to honors shall be laid open to men of industry and abilities; provided, in short, they are allowed to stand on the footing of partners and associates in the commonwealth; and, what is the natural result of equal freedom, be admitted in the rotation of annual magistracies, to obey and to command in turn. If any shall obstruct these measures, harangue about wars, and multiply them by reports, not a man will give in his name; not a man will take arms; not a man will fight for haughty mas-

ters, by whom he is excluded as an alien, both from the participation of public honors, and the private connexions of marriage.'

6. The consuls then came into the assembly, and, after a long series of harangues on the subject, an altercation arising, and the tribune asking 'for what reason was it improper that a plebeian should be made consul?' one of them answered, though perhaps with truth, yet unluckily, with regard to the present dispute, 'Because no plebeian had the right or power of taking the auspices; and for that reason the decemvirs had prohibited intermarriage, lest, from the uncertainty of men's descent, the auspices might be vitiated.' This, above all, kindled the indignation of the commons into a flame; they heard it affirmed that they were not qualified to take auspices, as if they were objects of the aversion of the immortal gods. So that the contest grew high, the commons being headed by a tribune of undaunted resolution, and themselves vying with him in steadiness, until the senate were at length overpowered, and gave their consent to the passing of the law concerning intermarriage; judging, that the tribunes might most probably be thereby induced, either to lay aside intirely, or to defer until the end of the war, the struggle for plebeian consuls; and that, in the mean time, the commons, satisfied with having obtained the right in question, would be ready to enlist. On the other hand, the high degree of credit which Canuleius had attained by his victory over the senate, and the favor of the commons, proved a strong incentive to the other tribunes to exert their utmost efforts in support of the law which they had proposed in regard to the consulship; and whilst the accounts of the enemy's proceedings grew every day more alarming, they obstructed the enlisting of troops. The consuls, finding that, by the continual protests of the tribunes, every proceeding of the senate was rendered abortive, held consultations at their houses with the principal patricians. Here they saw their dilemma: they must be vanquished, either by their enemies, or by their countrymen. The only consulars who were present at

their deliberations were Valerius and Horatius. Caius Claudius gave his opinion that the consuls should proceed against the tribunes by force of arms. The Quinctii, both Cincinnatus and Capitolinus, declared themselves averse from the shedding of blood, and of offering violence to those officers, whom, by the treaty concluded with the commons, they had acknowledged as sacred and inviolable. The result of these consultations was, that they should allow military tribunes, with consular power, to be elected out of the patricians and plebeians without distinction; and that, with respect to the election of consuls, no change should be made; and with this the tribunes were satisfied, and the commons also. An assembly was now proclaimed for the election of three tribunes with consular power; and, as soon as this proclamation was issued, immediately every one who had, either by word or deed, been a promoter of the sedition, particularly those who had held the office of tribune, began to solicit votes, and to bustle through the forum as candidates; so that the patricians were deterred, first, in despair of attaining that dignity, while the minds of the commons were in such a ferment; and afterwards, from making their appearance, from the indignation which they felt at the thoughts of holding the office in conjunction with such colleagues. At last, however, overcome by the pressing instances of the leading patricians, some of them declared themselves candidates, lest they might seem to have voluntarily surrendered the administration of public affairs. The issue of that election afforded a proof that men's sentiments during the heat of the contest for liberty and dignity are very different from those which they feel after the contest has been ended, and when the judgment is unbiassed: for the advocates for the plebeians, satisfied with the admission of their right to stand candidates, elected every one of the tribunes from among the patricians. Never was there found, even in a single individual, such moderation, disinterestedness, and elevation of mind, as was displayed on that occasion by the whole body of the people.

7. In the year three hundred and ten from the foundation of the city of Rome, for the first time, military tribunes in the room of consuls entered into office. [A. U. C. 311. B. C. 441.] These were Aulus Sempronius Atratinus, Lucius Atilius, and Titus Cæcilius; and, during their continuance in office, concord prevailing at home, produced likewise peace abroad. There are some writers, who, without mentioning the proposal of the law concerning the election of plebeian consuls, affirm, that on account of a war breaking out with the Veientians, in addition to those with the Æquans and Volscians, and the revolt of the Ardeans, two consuls being unequal to the task of conducting so many wars at once, three military tribunes were created, and vested both with the authority and the badges of consuls. However, the establishment of this office did not, at that time, remain on a permanent footing; for in the third month from its commencement they resigned their dignity, in pursuance of a decree of the augurs, alleging a defect in the election, Caius Curtius, who had presided on that occasion, not having performed the requisite ceremonies in marking out the ground for his tent. Ambassadors came to Rome from Ardea, complaining of the injustice done to them, and at the same time professing an intention of remaining in amity, and adhering to the treaty, provided that, by the restoration of their lands, that injustice were redressed. The senate answered, that 'they could not rescind the sentence of the people, were there no other reason than the preservation of concord between the orders in the state; but, besides, such a measure was not justified either by law or precedent. If the Ardeans would be content to wait until a seasonable conjuncture, and leave it intirely to the senate to find a remedy for the injury offered them, they would have reason afterwards to rejoice for having moderated their resentment, and should be convinced that the senate had ever been sincerely disposed to prevent any harm being done to them; and also that they were not less so to hear that which they now complained of.' On which the ambas-

sadors declaring that they would take the sense of their countrymen anew, before they formed any resolution, they were dismissed with expressions of friendship. The commonwealth being now without any curule magistrate, the patricians assembled and created an interrex, and the interregnum was prolonged for a great many days, by a contention whether consuls or military tribunes should be appointed. The interrex and the senate warmly promoted the election of consuls; the plebeian tribunes and the commons, the election of military tribunes. The patricians at length prevailed; for the commons, who had no intention of conferring either the one office or the other on any but patricians, desisted from their fruitless opposition: and besides, the leaders of the commons were better pleased with an election where they were not to appear as candidates, than with one where they would be passed over as unworthy. The plebeian tribunes wished also that their declining to press the dispute to a decision should be considered as a compliment to the patricians. Titus Quintius Barbatus, the interrex, elected consuls Lucius Papirius Mugilanus and Lucius Sempronius Atratinus. In their consulate the treaty with the Ardeans was renewed; and this serves as a record to prove that they were actually consuls in that year, though they are not to be found either in the old annals, or in the books of the magistrates, by reason, as I imagine, that in the beginning of the year there were military tribunes, and therefore though these consuls were afterwards substituted in their room, yet the names of the consuls were omitted, as if the others had continued in office through the whole of the appointed time. Licinius Macer affirms that they were found both in the Ardean treaty, and in the linen books in the temple of Moneta. Tranquillity prevailed not only at home but abroad, notwithstanding so many alarms given by the neighboring states.

8. Whether this year [A. U. C. 312. B. C. 440] had tribunes only, or consuls substituted in their room, is uncertain; but the succeeding one undoubtedly had

consuls, Marcus Geganius Macerinus, a second time, and Titus Quintius Capitolinus, a fifth time, being'invested with that honor. This same year produced the first institution of the censorship; an office which sprung from an inconsiderable origin, but grew up afterwards to such a height of importance, that it became possessed of the intire regulation of the morals and discipline of the Roman people. The senate, the centuries of the knights, and the distribution of honor and ignominy, were all under the supreme jurisdiction of these magistrates. The discrimination of public from private property, in lands or houses, and the intire revenue of the Roman people, were finally adjusted by their sovereign decision. What gave rise to the institution was, that as the people had not, for many years past, undergone a survey, the census could neither be longer deferred, nor could the consuls find leisure to perform it, while they were threatened with war by so many different states. An observation was made in the senate that a business so laborious and ill suited to the office of consul, would require officers to be appointed for that particular purpose, to whose management should be committed the business of the public secretaries, the superintendence and custody of the records, and the adjustment of the form of proceeding in the census. This proposal, though deemed of little consequence, yet, as it tended to increase the number of patrician magistrates in the commonwealth, the senate, on their part, received with great pleasure; foreseeing also, I suppose, what really happened, that the influence of those who should be raised to that post would derive additional authority and dignity in the office itself. And, on the other side, the tribunes, looking on the employment rather as necessary, which was the case at the timē, than as attended with any extraordinary lustre, did not choose to oppose it, lest they should seem, through perverseness, to carry on their opposition even in trifles. The leading men in the state showing a dislike of the office, the people, by their suffrages, conferred the employment of perform-

ing the census on Papirius and Sempronius, the persons whose consulate is doubted, in order to recompense them, by that office, for having enjoyed the consulship only for a part of the usual period. From the business of their office they were called censors.

9. During these transactions at Rome ambassadors came from Ardea, imploring, in regard of the alliance subsisting between them from the earliest times, and of the treaty lately renewed, relief for their city, now on the brink of ruin. The peace with Rome, which they had by the soundest policy preserved, they were prevented from enjoying by intestine war; the cause and origin of which is said to have arisen from a struggle between factions; which have proved, and will ever continue to prove, a more deadly cause of downfall to most states, than either foreign wars, or famine, or pestilence, or any other of those evils which men are apt to consider as the severest of public calamities, and the effects of the divine vengeance. Two young men courted a maiden of a plebeian family, highly distinguished for beauty; one of them on a level with the maid, in point of birth, and favored by her guardians, who were themselves of the same rank; the other of noble birth, captivated merely by her beauty. The pretensions of the latter were supported by the interest of the nobles, which proved the means of introducing party disputes into the damsel's family; for the nobleman's wishes were seconded by her mother, who was ambitious of securing the more splendid match for her daughter; while the guardians, actuated even in a matter of that sort by a spirit of party, exerted themselves in favor of the person of their own order. Not being able to come to any conclusion on the point in domestic conferences, they had recourse to a court of justice; where the magistrates, having heard the claims of the mother and of the guardians, decreed that she should marry according to the direction of her parent: but this was prevented by violence; for the guardians, after haranguing openly in the forum, among people of their own faction, on the iniquity of the decree, col-

lected a party in arms, and forcibly carried off the maiden from her mother's house: while the nobles, more highly incensed against them than ever, united in a body, and in military array followed their young friend, who was rendered furious by this outrage. A desperate battle was fought, in which the commons were worsted; and being incapable of imitating, in any particular, those of Rome, they marched out of the city, seized on a neighboring hill, and from thence made excursions with fire and sword on the lands of the nobles. Even the city itself, which had hitherto escaped the effects of their dispute, they prepared to besiege; having, by the hopes of plunder, allured a great number of the artizans to come out and join them: nor is there any shocking form or calamity of war which was not experienced on the occasion, as if the whole state were infected with the mad rage of two youths, who sought the accomplishment of that fatal match through the means of their country's ruin. Both parties thinking that they had not enough of hostilities among themselves, the nobles called on the Romans to relieve their city from a siege; while the commons besought the Volscians to join them in the storming of Ardea. The Volscians, under the command of Cluilius, an Æquan, arrived first at Ardea, and drew a line of circumvallation round the enemy's walls. An account of this being conveyed to Rome, Marcus Geganius, consul, instantly set out with an army; chose ground for his camp, at the distance of three miles from the enemy; and, as the day was now far spent, ordered his men to refresh themselves: then, at the fourth watch, he put his troops in motion. They were soon set to work, and made such expedition, that at sun-rise the Volscians saw themselves inclosed by the Romans with stronger works than those with which they had surrounded the city. The consul had, also, on one side, drawn a line across, to the wall of Ardea, to open a communication with his friends in the city.

10. The general of the Volscians, who had hitherto maintained his troops, not out of magazines provided

for the purpose, but by corn brought in daily from the plunder of the country, finding himself cut off at once from every resource, by being shut up within the enemy's lines, requested a conference with the consul, and told him that 'if the intention of the Romans in coming thither was to raise the siege, he was willing to withdraw the troops of the Volscians from the place.' To this the consul answered, that it was the part of the vanquished to receive terms, not to dictate them; and that the Volscians should not have the making of their conditions for departure, as they had come to attack the allies of the Roman people.' He insisted that 'they should deliver up their general into his hands, lay down their arms, and, acknowledging themselves vanquished, submit to his farther orders;' declaring that if these terms were not complied with, whether they remained there or retired, he would proceed against them as a determined enemy; and would be better pleased to carry home a victory over the Volscians than an insidious peace.' The Volscians, resolving to make trial of the small remains of hope which they could place in their arms, as they were utterly destitute of every other, came to an engagement; in which, besides other disadvantages, the ground rendered it difficult for them to fight, and still more so to retreat. When, finding themselves repulsed on all sides with much slaughter, from fighting they had recourse to intreaties; and having delivered up their general, and surrendered their arms, they were sent under the yoke, each with a single garment, loaded with ignominy and sufferings: and having afterwards halted near the city of Tusculum, the inhabitants of that city, out of the inveterate hatred which they bore them, attacked them unarmed as they were, and executed severe vengeance on them; leaving scarcely any to carry home the news of their defeat. The Roman general re-established tranquillity in the affairs of Ardea, which had been thrown into great confusion by the sedition, beheading the principal authors of the disturbances, and confiscating their effects to the public treasury. These now

considered the injustice of the former sentence against them as sufficiently repaired by such an important act of kindness: the senate, however, were of opinion that something still remained to be done, to obliterate if possible all remembrance of the Roman people's avarice. The consul returned into the city in triumph, Cluilius the general of the Volscians being led before his chariot, and the spoils borne before him, of which he had stripped the enemy when he disarmed and sent them under the yoke. The other consul Quintius had the singular felicity of acquiring, by his administration in the civil department, a share of glory equal to what his colleague had acquired by his military achievements; for so steadily did he direct his endeavors for the preservation of internal peace and harmony, dispensing justice tempered with moderation, equally to the highest and the lowest, that while the patricians approved of his strictness in the execution of his office, the commons were highly satisfied with his lenity. Even against the schemes of the tribunes he carried his measures more by means of the respect universally paid to him than by exertions of authority. Five consulships administered with the same tenor of conduct, and every part of his life being suited to the consular dignity, attracted to his person almost a greater degree of veneration than was paid even to the high office which he bore. There was therefore no mention of military tribunes in this consulate.

11. There were chosen [A. U. C. 313. B. C. 439] to succeed them Marcus Fabius Vebulanus and Postumius Æbutius Cornicen. These consuls were emulous of the high renown which they observed their predecessors had attained by their services at home and abroad, that year having been rendered very remarkable among all the neighboring states, both friends and enemies, by the very zealous support afforded to the Ardeans in their extreme distress. They exerted themselves then the more earnestly, with the view of erasing intirely from the minds of men the infamy of the former sentence of the people in respect of the ap-

appropriation of the lands; and sought to procure a decree of the senate, that whereas the Ardeans had by intestine war been reduced to an inconsiderable number, therefore a colony should be conducted thither, to serve as a barrier against the Volscians. These were the expressions made use of in the tables exhibited to public view, in order to conceal from the tribunes and commons the design which they formed of rescinding the sentence. But they had agreed among themselves to enrol for the colony a much greater number of Rutulians than of Romans; and then, that no other land should be distributed but that which had been fraudulently obtained by the infamous sentence of the people; and that not a sod of it should be assigned to any Roman until every one of the Rutulians should have received his share: by these means the land returned to the Ardeans. The commissioners appointed to conduct the colony to Ardea were Agrippa Menenius, Titus Cloelius Siculus, and Marcus Æbutius Elva; who, in the execution of their very unpopular employment, having given offence to the commons, by assigning to the allies that land which the Roman people had by their sentence pronounced to be their own, and not being much favored even by the principal patricians, because they had shown no deference to the influence of any of them, were by the tribunes cited before the people to answer a charge of misconduct; but they evaded all vexatious attacks by enrolling themselves as settlers, and remaining in that colony, which would ever bear testimony to their justice and integrity.

12. Tranquillity continued at home and abroad during both this and the following year, in which Caius Furius Pacilus and Marcus Papilius Crassus were consuls. [A. U. C. 314. B. C. 438.] The games vowed by the decemvirs, in pursuance of a decree of the senate, on occasion of the secession of the commons from the patricians, were this year performed. An occasion of sedition was sought in vain by Petilius; who, though he was elected tribune of the commons a second time, merely out of people's reliance on the strength

of his declaration, which was, that the consuls should propose to the senate a distribution of lands to be made to the commons, yet he was neither able to carry this point, nor when after a great struggle he had prevailed so far as that the senate should be consulted, whether it was their pleasure that consuls should be elected, or tribunes, could he prevent an order for the election of consuls; and the tribune made himself still more ridiculous by threatening to hinder a levy of troops at a time when, all their neighbors remaining in quiet, there was no occasion either for war or any preparation for it. This tranquillity was succeeded by a busy year, [A. U. C. 315. B. C. 437] wherein Proculus Geganius Macerinus and Lucius Menenius Lanatus were consuls; a year remarkable for a variety of dangers and disasters; for seditions, for famine, and for the people having almost bowed their necks to the yoke of arbitrary government, seduced by allurements of largesses. One calamity they were exempt from, foreign war: had this aggravation been added to their condition, the aid of all the gods could scarcely have preserved them. Their misfortune began with a famine; whether owing to the season being unfavorable to the productions of the earth, or from more attention being paid to the pleasures of the city and the assemblies than to agriculture; for both causes are mentioned. The patricians laid the blame on the idleness of the commons: the tribunes sometimes on the evil designs, sometimes on the negligence of the consuls. At length the plebeians prevailed, the senate giving no opposition, that Lucius Minucius should be created president of the market; who proved, in the course of that employment, more successful in guarding the public liberty than in the immediate business of his own department; although, in the end, he obtained the honor of having relieved the people in regard to the scarcity, and also their gratitude for that important service. He first proceeded as follows: finding little addition to the markets from several embassies which he sent, by land and sea, to all the neighboring nations,

except that some corn was brought, though in no great quantity, from Etruria, he had recourse to the expedient of dealing out in shares the scanty stock of provisions; at the same time compelling all to discover their stores of corn, and to sell whatever they had beyond a month's allowance. He took from the slaves one half of their daily portion of food; passed censures on the hoarders of corn, and exposed them to the rage of the people. So strict a scrutiny, however, served rather to make known the greatness of the scarcity than to remedy it; so that many of the commoners abandoning themselves to despair, rather than drag on their lives in torment, covered their heads, and threw themselves into the Tiber.

13. While things were in this situation Spurius Mælius, a man of equestrian rank, and possessed of extraordinary wealth for those times, engaged in a plan which, though useful for the present, was pernicious in its tendency, and was in fact suggested by designs still more pernicious; for having by means of his connexions and dependents bought in a quantity of corn from Etruria, (which very proceeding, I suppose, obstructed the endeavors of the magistrates to lower the price of provisions,) he began the practice of bestowing largesses of corn; and, having gained the hearts of the commons by this munificence, became the object of general attention. Assuming thence a degree of consequence beyond what belonged to a private citizen, wherever he went he drew them after him in crowds; and they, by the favor which they expressed towards him, encouraged him to look up to the consulship with a certain prospect of success. As men's desires are never satiated while fortune gives room to hope for more, he began to aim at higher and less justifiable objects. And since even the consulship must be obtained by violent efforts, in opposition to the inclinations of the patricians, and be at the same time a contest attended with such difficulties as would cost infinite labor to surmount, he directed his views to regal power. The election of consuls drew nigh; and the

circumstance of its coming on before his schemes were sufficiently digested and ripe for execution was the cause of their being intirely disconcerted. To the consulship was elected Titus Quintius Cincinnatus, a sixth time; a man not at all calculated to encourage the views of one who aimed at innovations: his colleague was Agrippa Menenius, surnamed Lanatus. [A. U. C. 316. B. C. 436.] Minucius, too, was either re-elected president of the market, or was originally appointed for an unlimited term, as long as occasion should require; for there is nothing certain on this head, only that his name as president was entered in the linen books among the other magistrates for both years. This Minucius, transacting in a public character the same kind of business which Mælius had undertaken in a private capacity, the houses of both were consequently frequented by the same sort of people; which circumstance having led to a discovery of the designs of the latter, Minucius laid the information before the senate, that ‘arms were collected in the dwelling of Mælius: that he held assemblies in his house; and that there remained not a doubt of his having formed a design to possess himself of absolute power: that the time for the execution of that design was not yet fixed, but every other particular had been settled: that tribunes had been corrupted by bribes to betray the public liberty; and that the leaders of the multitude had their several parts assigned them: that he had deferred laying this matter before the senate rather longer than was consistent with safety, lest he might offer any information which was ill grounded or uncertain.’ On hearing this the principal patricians highly blamed the consuls of the former year for suffering such largesses, and such meetings of the commons in a private house; and also the new ones for their supineness while the president of the market reported to the senate an affair of such importance, and which it was the duty of a consul both to discover and to punish. To this Quintius replied, that ‘it was unfair to blame the consuls, who, being tied down by the laws concerning appeals

enacted for the purpose of weakening their authority, had not in their office the ability, however much they might have the will, to inflict condign punishment on such atrocious proceedings: that the business required not only a man of resolution, but one who should be free and unshackled by the fetters of those laws: that therefore he would name Lucius Quintus dictator; in him would be found a spirit equal to so great a power.' Every one expressed his approbation. Quintus at first refused the office, and asked them what they meant by exposing him in the extremity of age to such a violent contest. On which they all joined in asserting that his aged breast was fraught not only with more wisdom, but with more fortitude also, than was to be found in all the rest; loading him with deserved praises, while the consul persisted in his intention: so that at length Cincinnatus, after praying to the immortal gods that his declining years might not, at a juncture so dangerous, be the cause of detriment or dishonor to the commonwealth, was appointed dictator by the consul; and he then named Caius Servilius Ahala his master of the horse.

14. Next day, after fixing proper guards, the dictator went down to the forum, the whole attention of the commons being turned towards him by the surprise and novelty of the affair; and whilst the partisans of Mælius, and also himself, perceived that the power of this high authority was aimed against them, others, who were ignorant of their designs, were wholly at a loss to discover what tumult, what sudden war required either the majesty of a dictator, or the appointment of Quintus, after his eightieth year, to the administration of affairs. The master of the horse, by order of the dictator, then came to Mælius, and said to him, 'the dictator calls you.' Struck with apprehension, he asked the reason, and was informed by Servilius that he must stand a trial, and acquit himself of a charge made against him in the senate by Minucius. Mælius then drew back into the band of his associates; and, at first, cautiously looking round, attempted to

skulk away ; and when, at length, a sergeant, by order of the master of the horse, laid hold on him, he was rescued by the by-standers, and betook himself to flight ; imploring the protection of the commons of Rome ; affirming that he was persecuted by a conspiracy of the patricians for having acted with kindness toward the people ; and beseeching them to assist him in this extremity of danger, and not to suffer him to be murdered before their eyes. Whilst he exclaimed in this manner, Ahala Servilius overtook and slew him ; and, besmeared with the blood which flowed from the wounds, and surrounded by a band of young patricians, carried back an account to the dictator, that Mælius, on being summoned to attend him, had driven back the sergeant, and endeavored to excite the multitude to violence, for which he had received condign punishment. ‘ I applaud,’ said the dictator, ‘ your meritorious conduct ; Caius Servilius, you have preserved the commonwealth.’

15. He then ordered the multitude, who, not knowing what judgment to form of the deed, were in violent agitation, to be called to an assembly ; there he publicly declared that ‘ Mælius had been legally put to death, even supposing him to have been innocent of the crime of aspiring at regal power, for having refused to attend the dictator, when summoned by the master of the horse. That he himself had resolved to examine into the charge ; and that when the trial should have been finished, Mælius would have met such treatment as his cause merited : but when he attempted by force to elude a legal decision, force was employed to stop his proceedings. Nor would it have been proper to treat him as a citizen ; for though born in a free state, under the dominion of the laws divine and human, in a city from which he knew that kings had been expelled, and that in the same year the offspring of the king’s sister, and the sons of the consul, the deliverer of his country, on discovery of their engaging in a plot for re-admitting the kings into the city, were by their father publicly beheaded ; from which, Colla-

tinus Tarquinius, consul, was ordered, through the general detestation of the name, after resigning his office, to retire into exile; in which Spurius Cassius was, several years after, capitally punished for having formed a design of assuming the sovereignty; in which, not long ago, the decemvirs, on account of their regal tyranny, had been punished with confiscations, exile, and death; in that very city Spurius Mælius had conceived hopes of possessing himself of regal power. And who was this man? Although no nobility, no honors, no merits, could open to any man the way to tyranny; yet still the Claudii and Cassii, when they raised their views to an unlawful height, were elated by consulships, by decemvirates, by honors conferred on themselves and their ancestors, and by the splendor of their families. But Spurius Mælius, to whom a plebeian tribuneship should have been an object rather of wishes than of hope, a wealthy corn-merchant, had conceived the design of purchasing the liberty of his countrymen for a few measures of corn; had supposed that a people victorious over all their neighbors could be inveigled into slavery by being supplied with a little food. A person, whose elevation to the rank of senator the state could have hardly digested, they were patiently to endure as king, possessing the ensigns and the authority of Romulus their founder, who had descended from, and returned to the gods. This must be deemed not more criminal than it was monstrous: nor was it sufficiently expiated by his blood; it was farther necessary that the roof, the walls within which such a desperate design had been conceived, should be levelled to the ground; and that his effects should be confiscated, being contaminated by the intention of making them the price of the people's liberty; and that therefore he directed the questors to sell those effects, and deposit the produce in the public treasury.'

16. He then ordered his house to be immediately rased, and that the vacant space should remain as a monument of the suppression of that abominable enter-

prise. This was called *Æquimælium*. Lucius Minucius was honored with a present of an ox, with its horns gilded, and a statue on the outside of the gate *Trigemina*; and this with the approbation of the commons, for he distributed among them the corn collected by Mælius, at the rate of an as for each peck. In some authors, I find, that this Minucius had changed sides from the patricians to the commons, and that having been chosen by the plebeian tribunes, as an eleventh member of their body, he quieted the commotion which arose on the death of Mælius. But it is hardly credible that the patricians suffered the number of tribunes to be augmented, or that the precedent should have been introduced particularly in regard of a man of their own order; or that the commons did not afterwards maintain, or even attempt to maintain, a privilege once conceded to them. But what above all evinces the falsehood of that inscription on his statue, is, that a few years before this, provision had been made by a law, that the tribunes should not have power to assume colleagues in their office. Of the college of tribunes Quintus Cæcilius, Quintus Junius, and Sextus Titinius had neither been concerned in the law for conferring honors on Minucius, nor did they cease to throw out censures in presence of the people, at one time on Minucius, at another on Servilius; and to complain of the unmerited death of Mælius. By such methods they accomplished their purpose so far as to procure an order that military tribunes should be elected instead of consuls; not doubting, but in the filling up of six places, for so many were then allowed to be elected, some plebeians, who should profess a resolution to revenge the death of Mælius, would be appointed among the rest. The commons, though kept in continual agitation during that year, from many and various causes, elected three tribunes only, with consular power, and even chose among these Lucius Quintius the son of Cincinnatus, whose conduct in the dictatorship those men wished to render odious, and thence to gain occasion of new disturbances. Prior to Quintius, Ma-

mercus Æmilius was voted in, a man who stood in the first rank of merit: in the third place, they elected Lucius Icilius.

17. While these were in office, Fidenæ, a Roman colony, revolted to the Veientians, whose king was Lars Tolumnius. [A. U. C. 317. B. C. 435.] To their revolt a more heinous crime was added; for, in pursuance of an order from Tolumnius, they put to death Caius Fulcinius, Cloelius Tullus, Spurius Ancius, and Lucius Roscius, Roman ambassadors, who came to inquire into the reasons of this change of conduct. Some palliate the guilt of the king, alleging that an ambiguous expression of his, on a successful throw at dice, being misapprehended by the Fidenatians, as an order for their execution, occasioned the death of the ambassadors. But this seems an incredible tale; for it cannot be supposed that the thoughts of Tolumnius would be so intently employed on his game that he should be regardless of a circumstance of so much consequence as the arrival of his new allies, the Fidenatians, and who, if this be admitted, must have come to consult him on the perpetration of a murder, which would violate all the laws of nations; or that, in such an affair, he should feel no compunction. It is much more probable that his view was to involve them in such guilt as to cut off all hope of reconciliation with the Romans. Statues of the ambassadors slain at Fidenæ were erected near the rostrum at the public expense. A desperate struggle was now to be expected with the Veientians and Fidenatians; as, besides the circumstance of their situation, contiguous to the frontiers, they had stained the commencement of the war with an action so abominable. The commons, therefore, and their tribunes, seeing the necessity of attending to the general welfare, and suffering other matters to pass in quiet, there was no opposition to the election of consuls, who were Marcus Geganius Macerinus a third time, and Lucius Sergius Fidenas, so called, I suppose, from his services in the succeeding war: for he was the first who engaged in battle with the king of the Veientians on

this side of the Anio, in which he had the advantage ; but he gained not an unbloody victory, so that people's grief for the loss of their countrymen exceeded their joy for the defeat of the enemy ; and the senate, as in a case particularly alarming, ordered Mamercus Æmilius to be named dictator. He chose his master of the horse from among his colleagues of the former year, in the office of military tribunes with consular power, Lucius Quintius Cincinnatus, a young man worthy of the father from whom he sprung. To the troops levied by the consuls were added many veteran centurions skilled in the business of war, and the number of men lost in the last battle was replaced. The dictator ordered Quintius Capitolinus and Marcus Fabius Vibulanus to attend him in quality of lieutenant-generals. The appointment of a magistrate with extraordinary power, and the character of the person appointed being fully suited to those powers, both together so affected the enemy, that they withdrew from the Roman territory to the other side of the Anio ; and continuing to retreat, took possession of the hills between Fidenæ and the Anio. Nor did they descend into the plains until the legions of the Faliscians came to their aid : then indeed the camp of the Etrurians was pitched under the walls of Fidenæ. The Roman dictator took his post at a little distance from thence, at the conflux and on the banks of the two rivers, drawing lines across from one to the other where the length of ground between them was not greater than he was able to fortify. On the day following he led out his forces prepared for battle.

18. Among the enemy there were various opinions. The Faliscians, finding it very distressing to carry on war at such a distance from home, and being full of confidence in their own prowess, were urgent for fighting. The Veientians and Fidenatians foresaw greater advantages in protracting the war. Tolumnius, although the advice of his countrymen was more agreeable to his own sentiments, yet fearing lest the Faliscians should grow weary of a distant war, gave

notice that he would fight on the following day. This, however, being still deferred, added to the confidence of the dictator and the Romans; so that the soldiers, openly threatening that they would assault the camp and the city, if the enemy did not come to an engagement, both armies marched forth into the middle of a plain which lay between the two camps. The Veientians, being superior in numbers, sent a party round behind the mountains, who were to attack the Roman camp during the heat of the battle. The army of the three states was drawn up in such a manner, that the Veientians formed the right wing, the Faliscians the left, and the Fidenatians the centre. The dictator charged on the right wing against the Faliscians; Quintius Capitolinus on the left, against the Veientians; and the master of the horse, with the cavalry, advanced in the centre. For a short time all was silence and quiet; the Etrurians being resolved not to engage unless they were compelled, and the dictator keeping his eyes fixed on a Roman fort in the rear, until a signal which had been concerted should be raised by the augurs, as soon as the birds gave a favorable omen; on perceiving which, he ordered the cavalry first to charge the enemy with a loud shout; the line of infantry following, began the conflict with great fury. The Etrurian legions could not in any quarter withstand the attack of the Romans. The cavalry made the greatest resistance; but the king himself, distinguished in valor far beyond even these, by frequent charges on the Romans, while they were pursuing in disorder in all parts of the field, prolonged the contest.

19. There was at that time among the Roman cavalry a military tribune called Aulus Cornelius Cosus, remarkable for the extraordinary beauty of his person, as well as for his spirit and bodily strength, and for attention to the honor of his family, which, having descended to him with a great degree of lustre, he conveyed to his posterity with a large increase, and with additional splendor. Perceiving that wherever

Tolumnius directed his course, the troops of Roman cavalry shrunk from his charge, and knowing him by his royal apparel, as he flew through every part of the army, he cried out, 'Is this he who breaks the bands of human society, and violates the law of nations? This victim will I quickly slay, provided it is the will of the gods that any thing should remain sacred on earth, and will offer him to the manes of the ambassadors.' With these words, he clapped spurs to his horse, and, with his spear presented, rushed against him. Having unhorsed him with a stroke, and pressing him down with his spear, he instantly sprung down on the ground, where, as the king attempted to rise, he struck him back with the boss of his shield, and with repeated thrusts pinned him to the earth. He then stripped off the spoils from the lifeless body, and having cut off the head, and carrying it about on the point of his spear as a trophy of the victory, he put the enemy to rout, through the dismay which struck them on the death of their king. Their body of cavalry likewise, which alone had kept the victory in suspense, was defeated with the rest. The dictator pursued close on the flying legions, and drove them to their camp with great slaughter. The greater number of the Fidenatians, through their knowledge of the country, made their escape into the mountains. Cossus, having crossed the Tiber with the cavalry, brought to the city an immense booty from the lands of the Veientians. During this battle there was another fight at the Roman camp, against the party which Tolumnius, as was mentioned above, had sent against it; Fabius Vibulanus, manning the rampart all round, stood at first on the defensive; then, when the enemy were earnestly engaged against the rampart, sallying out with the veterans from the principal gate on the right, he made a sudden attack on them, which struck such terror, that though the slaughter was less, they being fewer in number, yet the rout was not less disorderly than that of their grand army.

20. Crowned with success in every quarter, the dic-

tator, in pursuance of a decree of the senate, and an order of the people, returned into the city in triumph. By far the most distinguished object in this procession was Cossus, carrying the *spolia opima* (grand spoils) of the king whom he had slain, while the soldiers chanted their uncouth verses, extolling him as equal to Romulus. With the usual form of dedication he presented and hung up the spoils in the temple of Jupiter Feretrius, near to those dedicated by Romulus, and first denominated *opima*, which were the only ones then existing. He drew off the people's attention from the chariot of the dictator to himself, and enjoyed almost solely the honor of that day's solemnity. The former, by order of the people, deposited in the capitol, as an offering to Jupiter, a golden crown of a pound weight, at the expense of the public. Following all the Roman authors, I have represented Aulus Cornelius Cossus as a military tribune, when he carried the second *spolia opima* into the temple of Jupiter Feretrius: but, besides that those spoils only are properly deemed *opima*, which one general has taken from another, and we know no general but the person under whose auspices the war is carried on, the inscription itself, written on the spoils, proves against both them and myself that Cossus was consul when he took them. Having once heard Augustus Cæsar, the founder or restorer of all our temples, on entering the temple of Jupiter Feretrius, which from a ruin he had rebuilt, aver, that he himself had read the said inscription on the linen breastplate, I thought it would be next to sacrilege to rob Cossus of such a testimony respecting his spoils, as that of Cæsar, to whom the temple itself owed its renovation. Whether the mistake is chargeable on the very ancient annals and the books of the magistrates, written on linen and deposited in the temple of Moneta, and continually cited as authority by Licinius Macer, which have Aulus Cornelius Cossus, consul, with Titus Quintius Pennus, in the ninth year after this, every one may form his own judgment: for that so celebrated a battle could not be transferred to that year, there is this farther

proof; that, for three years before and after the consulship of Aulus Cornelius, there was an almost intercession from war on account of a pestilence, and a scarcity of the fruits of the earth; so that several annals, as if they had no other transactions but those of mourning to relate, mention nothing more than the names of the consuls. Cossus, indeed, is mentioned as military tribune, with consular power, in the third year before his consulate; and in the same year as master of the horse, in which post he fought another remarkable battle with cavalry. In respect to this there is room for conjecture: but in my opinion, surmises are not to be brought in support of any matter whatsoever, when the person concerned in the fight, on placing the recent spoils in the sacred repository, and having in a manner before his eyes Jupiter, to whom they were consecrated, and Romulus, as witnesses; and, as would be the case in falsifying the inscription, who were not to be treated with contempt, intitled himself Aulus Cornelius Cossus, consul.

21. During the next year, wherein Marcus Cornelius Maluginensis and Lucius Papirius Crassus were consuls [A. U. C. 319. B. C. 433], armies were led into the territories of the Veientians and of the Faliscians, and numbers of men and cattle were carried off as spoil, but the enemy did not show themselves, nor give any opportunity of fighting. However, no attempt was made on their towns, the people at Rome being attacked by a pestilential disorder. Endeavors were also used at home to excite disturbances, but without effect, by Spurius Mælius, a plebeian tribune, who, imagining that by the popularity of his name he should be able to raise some commotion, had commenced a prosecution against Minucius; and also proposed a law for confiscating the effects of Servilius Ahala, alleging that Mælius had been insidiously crushed under false charges by Minucius; and objecting to Servilius his having put to death a citizen who was under no legal sentence. These charges, however, when canvassed before the people, were found intitled

to as little credit and attention as the promoter of them. But they found greater cause for anxiety in the increasing violence of the pestilence, attended with other alarming occurrences and prodigies; particularly in the accounts which were received of many houses in the country being thrown down by frequent earthquakes. A general supplication to the gods was therefore performed by the people, who repeated it in form after the decemvirs.¹ The disorder increasing during the following year [A. U. C. 320. B. C. 432], in which Caius Julius, a second time, and Lucius Virginus were consuls, occasioned such dreadful apprehensions of total desolation, both in the city and the country, that not only an intire stop was put to predatory excursions from the Roman territories, but every thought of offensive operations laid aside both by patricians and commons. The Fidenatians, who had at first shut themselves up within their towns or forts, or among the mountains, now ventured to come down into the lands of the Romans, and commit depredations. Then the army of the Veientians being called to their aid (for the Faliscians could not be prevailed on, either by the calamities of the Romans, or the intreaties of their allies, to renew hostilities), the two nations crossed the Anio, and displayed their ensigns at a little distance from the Colline gate. This occasioned great consternation as well in the city as in the country. The consul Julius drew up the troops on the rampart and the walls, whilst Virginus held a consultation of the senate in the temple of Quirinus. Here it was resolved to create for dictator Quintus Servilius, to whom some gave the surname of Priscus, others that of Structus. Virginus delayed no longer than till he had conferred with his colleague, and having obtained his consent, named the dictator that night. He appointed Postumius Æbutius Elva his master of the horse.

¹ In the performance of such rites, the slightest mistake of a word or syllable was deemed highly inauspicious; to prevent which, the regular form of words was pronounced by a priest, and repeated after him by the persons officiating.

22. The dictator issued an order that all should appear at the first light, outside the Colline gate; and that the ensigns from the treasury should be brought to him. Every one whose strength enabled him to carry arms attended accordingly. In the mean time the enemy withdrew to the higher grounds: thither the dictator followed, and coming to a general engagement near Nomentum, defeated the Etrurian legions, drove them from thence into the city of Fidenæ, and inclosed them with lines of circumvallation. But neither could the city be taken by storm, by reason of its high situation and the strength of its works, nor could a blockade turn to any effect, because they had such abundant stores of corn laid up in their magazines, as to be more than sufficient for necessary consumption. The dictator, therefore, having no hopes, either of taking the place by assault, or of reducing it to a surrender, being thoroughly acquainted with the same, resolved to carry a mine into the citadel, on the opposite side of the city; which, being the best secured by its natural strength, was the least attended to. He carried on his approaches to the walls in the parts most distant from this; and, having formed his troops into four divisions, who were to relieve each other successively in the action, by continuing the fight night and day, without intermission, he so engaged the attention of the enemy, that they never perceived the work which was carrying on until, a way being dug from the camp through the mountain, a passage was opened up into the citadel, and the Etrurians, whose thoughts were diverted from their real danger by false alarms, discovered, from the shouts of the enemy over their heads, that their city was taken. In this year the censors, Caius Furius Pacilus and Marcus Geganius Macerinus, pronounced that the undertakers had fulfilled their contract for finishing the courthouse¹ in the field of Mars, and the survey of the people was performed there for the first time.

23. I find, in Licinius Macer, the same consuls re-

¹ Destined to public uses, such as holding the *census*, or survey of the people, the reception of ambassadors, &c.

elected for the following year: [A. U. C. 321. B. C. 431] yet Valerius Antias and Quintus Tubero mention Marcus Manlius and Quintus Sulpicius as consuls. In support of representations so widely different, both Tubero and Macer cite the linen books as their authority: but neither of them deny the record of ancient writers, who maintain that there were military tribunes in that year. Licinius is of opinion that the linen books ought to be implicitly followed. Tubero cannot determine positively on either side. But this is a point which, among others, involved in obscurity by length of time, must be left unsettled. The capture of Fidenæ spread great alarm in Etruria; for not the Veientians only were terrified with apprehensions of similar ruin, but the Faliscians also, conscious of having commenced the war in conjunction with them, although they had not joined them in the renewing of hostilities. Those two nations, therefore, having sent ambassadors to all the twelve states, and procured an order for a general meeting at the temple of Voltumna, the senate, apprehensive of a powerful attack from that quarter, ordered Mamercus Æmilius to be a second time appointed dictator. He named Aulus Postumius Tubertus master of the horse, making more powerful preparations for this campaign than for the last, in proportion as the danger was greater from the whole body of Etruria, than it had been from two of its states.

24. That business ended more quietly than could have been expected: for accounts were received from some itinerant traders that the Veientians had met with a refusal of aid, and had been desired to prosecute, with their own strength, a war in which they had engaged on their own separate views, and not endeavor to bring others to partake in their distresses, to whom they had imparted no share of their prospects when they were favorable. The dictator, thus robbed of the harvest of glory which he expected to have reaped from military affairs, in order that his appointment might not be altogether without effect, conceived

a desire of performing some exploit in the civil line of business, and which should remain as a monument of his dictatorship. He undertook therefore to limit the censorship; either judging its powers excessive, or disapproving of their duration more than of their extent. In pursuance of this design, having summoned an assembly of the people, he told them that 'with regard to foreign affairs, and the establishing of security on every side, the immortal gods had taken the administration on themselves. That as to what was fitting to be done within the walls, he would zealously maintain the liberty of the Roman people: now there was no method of guarding it so effectual, as the taking care that offices of great power should not be of long continuance; and that those whose jurisdiction could not be limited, should be limited in point of duration:—that while other magistracies were annual, the censorship was of five years' continuance; and it was grievous to people to have the greater part of their actions subjected to the control of the same persons for such a number of years: he would therefore propose a law that the censorship should not last longer than a year and a half.' Next day the law was passed, and with the universal approbation of the people. He then said, 'To convince you by my conduct, Romans, how much I disapprove of long continuance in office, I here resign the dictatorship.' Having thus put an end to one office, and limits to another, he was, on his resignation, escorted by the people to his house with the warmest expressions of gratitude and affection. The censors, highly offended at his having imposed a restriction on a public office of the Roman state, degraded Mamercus into a lower tribe,¹ and, increasing

¹ The division of the people into tribes, made by Romulus, regarded the stock, or origin, of the constituent members; the subsequent one, by Servius, was merely local, and a tribe then signified nothing more than a certain space of ground with its inhabitants; but as the tribes increased in number, which they did at last to thirty-five, this kind of division was set aside, and a tribe became, not a quarter of the city, but a

his taxes eight-fold, disfranchised him.¹ We are told that he bore this treatment with great magnanimity, regarding the cause of the disgrace, rather than the disgrace itself; and that the principal patricians, though they had been averse from a diminution of the privileges of the censorship, were, nevertheless, highly displeased at this instance of harsh severity in the censors; every one perceiving that he must be oftener and for a longer time subject to others in the office of censor, than he could hold the office himself. The people's indignation certainly rose to such a height, that no other influence than that of Mamercus himself could have deterred them from offering violence to the censors.

25. [A. U. C. 322. B. C. 430.] The plebeian tribunes by constantly haranguing the people against the election of consuls, prevailed at last, after bringing the affair almost to an interregnum, that military tribunes, with consular power, should be elected. In the prize of victory which they aimed at, the procuring a plebeian to be elected, they were intirely disappointed. The persons chosen were all patricians, Marcus Fabius Vibulanus, Marcus Fossius, and Lucius Sergius Fidenas. During that year the pestilence kept other matters quiet. For the restoration of health to the people, a temple was vowed to Apollo; and the decemvirs, by direction of the books, performed many rites for the purpose of appeasing the wrath of the gods, and averting the pestilence. The mortality, notwithstanding,

fraternity of citizens, connected by a participation in the common rights of the tribe, without any reference to their places of residence. The rustic tribes were always reckoned more honorable than the city tribes, because the business of agriculture was held in the highest estimation, and because the lowest of the people were inrolled in the latter. The difference of rank among the rustic tribes depended partly on their antiquity, and partly on the number of illustrious families contained in each. In many cases the tribes took their names from some of those distinguished families.

¹ I. e. deprived him of all the privileges of a citizen; on which he became a citizen, so far only as he paid taxes.

was great among men and cattle, both in the city and the country. Dreading a famine, in consequence of the death of the husbandmen, they sent for corn to Etruria, and the Pomptine districts to Cumæ, and at last to Sicily also. No mention was made of electing consuls. Military tribunes with consular power were appointed, all patricians, Lucius Pinarius Mamercinus, Lucius Furius Medullinus, and Spurius Postumius Albus. [A. U. C. 323. B. C. 429.] In this year the violence of the disorder abated, nor were there any apprehensions of a scarcity of corn, care having been taken to provide against it. Schemes for exciting wars were agitated in the meetings of the Æquans and Volscians, and in Etruria at the temple of Voltumna. Here the business was adjourned for a year, and a decree passed, forbidding any assembly to be held before that time, while the nation of the Veientians in vain complained that the same misfortunes hung over Veii which had destroyed Fidenæ. Meanwhile at Rome the leaders of the commons, who had for a long time in vain pursued the hopes of attaining higher dignity during this interval of tranquillity abroad, called the people together in the houses of the tribunes, and there concerted their plans in secret. They complained that 'they were treated with such contempt by the commons, that notwithstanding military tribunes with consular power had been elected for so many years, no plebeian had ever yet been allowed to attain that honor. Their ancestors,' they said, 'had shown great foresight in providing that the plebeian magistracies should not lie open to any patrician, otherwise they would have had patrician tribunes of the commons; so despicable are we even in the eyes of our own party, and not less contemned by the commons than by the patricians themselves.' Others took off the blame from the commons, and threw it on the patricians: 'It was through their arts and intrigues,' they said, 'that the access to honors was barred against the plebeians. If the commons were allowed time to breathe from their intreaties mixed with menaces, they would come to an

election with a due regard to the interest of their own party, and as they had already secured protection to themselves, would assume also the administration of the government.' It was resolved, that for the purpose of abolishing the practice of those intrigues, the tribunes should propose a law, that no person should be allowed, on applying for an office, to add any white to his garment.¹ This may appear at present a trivial matter, scarcely fit to be seriously mentioned, yet it then kindled a very hot contention between the patricians and plebeians. The tribunes however got the better, and carried the law; and as it was evident that the commons, in their present state of ill humor, would give their support to persons of their own party, in order to put this out of their power a decree of the senate was passed that the election should be held for consuls.

26. The reason assigned was, intelligence received from the Latines and Hernicians of the Æquans and Volscians having suddenly commenced hostilities, [A. U. C. 324. B. C. 428] Titus Quintius Cincinnatus, who had also the surname of Pennus, son of Lucius, and Caius Julius Mento, were made consuls. Nor were they kept in suspense, with respect to the danger apprehended from their enemies. The Æquans and Volscians having held a levy of troops under their devoting law, which is their most powerful instrument for forcing men into the service, marched a numerous company from each nation to Algidum, where they met and formed separate camps; the generals taking extraordinary pains, beyond what had ever been practised before, in fortifying their posts and exercising their men; which rendered the accounts brought to Rome still more alarming. The senate resolved that a dictator should be appointed, because, though these

¹ To rub it with chalk, in order to increase its whiteness, and render themselves more conspicuous. It was the practice of those who solicited any public office thus to make their garments more white; hence they were called *candidati*, candidates, a word still in use.

were nations often vanquished, yet in the present revival of hostilities, they had used more vigorous efforts than before ; and no small number of the Roman youth had been cut off by the sickness. Above all, they were alarmed by the perverseness of the consuls, the disagreement between themselves, and the opposition which they gave each other in every measure. Some writers say that these consuls were defeated in a battle at Algidum, and that this was the reason for appointing a dictator. This much is certain, that though they differed in every thing else, they perfectly agreed in the one point, that of opposing the will of the senate, and refusing to name a dictator, until Quintus Servilius Priscus, a man who had passed through the highest dignities with singular honor, finding the intelligence which arrived grow more and more alarming, and that the consuls would not be directed by the senate, expressed himself thus : ‘ Tribunes of the commons, matters have come to extremity ; the senate appeals to you, that in the present state of public affairs, you may, by the authority vested in you, oblige the consuls to name a dictator.’ This application seemed to the tribunes to afford them a good opportunity of extending their power ; wherefore, after retiring together, they declared by the authority of their body, that ‘ it was their determination that the consuls should follow the directions of the senate, and that if they persisted in their opposition to the sentiments of that most illustrious body, they would order them to be carried to prison.’ The consuls were better pleased to be overcome by the tribunes than by the senate, at the same time remonstrating, that ‘ the prerogatives of the chief magistracy were betrayed by the senators, and the consulship subjugated to the tribunitian power. If the consuls were liable to be overruled by a tribune, by virtue of his office, in any particular, they were liable also to be sent to prison. And what greater hardship could any private person apprehend ? It fell by lot, for even on that point the colleagues could not agree, to Titus Quintius to name the dictator, and he

made choice of Aulus Postumius Tubertus, his own father-in-law, a man of remarkable strictness in command. Lucius Julius was by him nominated master of the horse. At the same time a proclamation was issued for a vacation from civil business, and that nothing should be attended to in any part of the city but preparations for hostilities. The examination of the cases of those who claimed immunity from service was to be made at the conclusion of the war, which induced even those, whose claims were doubtful, to give in their names. The Hernicians and Latines also were ordered to send a supply of forces, and they both exerted themselves with zeal, in obedience to the dictator's will.

27. All these measures were executed with the utmost dispatch, the consul Caius Julius being left to guard the city, while Lucius Julius, master of the horse, was to answer the exigences of the camp; and that there should be no delay with respect to any thing which might there be wanted, the dictator, repeating the form after the chief pontiff Aulus Cornelius, vowed to celebrate the great games on the occasion of this sudden war. Then dividing his troops with the consul Quintius, he began his march from the city, and quickly came up with the enemy. Having observed that these had formed two camps at a little distance from each other, they in like manner encamped separately at about a mile from them, the dictator towards Tusculum, and the consul towards Lanuvium. Thus there were four armies, and so many fortified posts, having between them a plain of sufficient extent not only for the skirmishes of small parties, but even for drawing up the armies on both sides in battle array. From the time when the camps were pitched in the neighborhood of each other there was continual skirmishing, the dictator readily allowing his men to compare strength; and from the success of these combats he gradually formed a confident expectation of future victory in a regular fight. The enemy therefore, finding no hopes left of succeeding in a general engage-

ment, made an attack by night on the camp of the consul, on the issue of which the final decision of the dispute would probably depend. Their shout, which they set up on a sudden, roused from sleep, not only the consul's watch guards, and afterwards all his troops, but the dictator also. The conjuncture requiring instant exertion, the consul showed no deficiency either of spirit or of judgment. One part of the troops reinforced the guards at the gates, while another manned the rampart around. In the other camp, where the dictator commanded, as there was less tumult, so it was easier to perceive what was necessary to be done. Despatching then a reinforcement to the consul's camp, under the command of Spurius Postumius Albus, lieutenant-general, he himself, with a body of forces, making a small circuit, proceeded to a place quite retired from the hurry of action, whence he proposed to make an unexpected attack on the enemy's rear. To Quintus Sulpicius, lieutenant-general, he gave the charge of the camp; to Marcus Fabius, lieutenant-general, he assigned the cavalry, with orders that those troops, which it would be hardly possible to manage in the confusion of a conflict by night, should not stir until daylight. Every measure which any other general, however skilful and active, could at such a juncture order and execute, he ordered and executed with perfect regularity. But it was a singular instance of judgment and intrepidity, and intitled to more than ordinary praise, that not content with defensive plans, he despatched Marcus Geganius, with some chosen cohorts, to attack that camp of the enemy, from which, according to the intelligence of his scouts, they had marched out the greater number of troops. Falling on men whose whole attention was engrossed by the danger of their friends, while they were free from any apprehension for themselves, and had neglected posting watches or advanced guards, he made himself master of the camp, sooner almost than they knew that it was attacked. A signal being then given by smoke, as had been concerted, the dictator perceiving it, cried out

that the enemy's camp was taken, and ordered the news to be conveyed to all the troops.

28. By this time day appeared, and every thing lay open to view. Fabius had already charged with the cavalry, and the consul had sallied from the camp on the enemy, who were now much disconcerted, when the dictator on another side, having attacked their reserve and second line, threw his victorious troops, both horse and foot, in the way of all their efforts, as they turned themselves about, to the dissonant shouts, and the various sudden assaults. Being thus hemmed in on every side, they would, to a man, have undergone the punishment due to their infraction of the peace, had not Vectius Messius, a Volscian, a man more renowned for his deeds than his descent, upbraiding his men as they were forming themselves into a circle, called out with a loud voice, 'Do you intend to offer yourselves to the weapons of the enemy here, where you can neither make defence nor obtain revenge? To what purpose, then, have you arms in your hands? Or why did you undertake an offensive war, ever turbulent in peace and dastardly in arms? What hopes do you propose in standing here? Do you expect that some god will protect and carry you from hence? With the sword the way must be opened. Come on, you who wish to see your houses and your parents, your wives and children, follow wherever you see me lead the way. There is neither wall nor rampart, nothing to obstruct you, but men in arms, with which you are as well furnished as they. Equal in bravery, you are superior to them in point of necessity, the ultimate and most forcible of weapons.' No sooner had he uttered these words than he put them in execution, and the rest raising the shout anew, and following him, made a violent push on that part where Postumius Albus had drawn up his forces in their way, and made the conqueror give ground, until the dictator came up, just as his men were on the point of retreating. Thus the whole weight of the battle was turned to that quarter. Messius alone supported the fortune of the enemy, while many wounds

were received, and great slaughter was made on both sides. By this time the Roman generals themselves were not unhurt in the fight: one of them, Postumius, retired from the field, having his skull fractured by the stroke of a stone; but neither could the dictator be prevailed on, by a wound in his shoulder, nor Fabius, by having his thigh almost pinned to his horse, nor the consul, by his arm being cut off, to withdraw from this perilous conflict.

29. Messius, at the head of a band of the bravest youths, charged the enemy with such impetuosity, that he forced his way through heaps of slaughtered foes to the camp of the Volscians, which was still in their possession, and the whole body of the army followed the same route. The consul, pursuing their disordered troops to the very rampart, assaulted the camp itself, and the dictator brought up his forces with the same purpose on the other side. There was no less bravery shown on both sides in this assault than had been seen in the battle. We are told that the consul even threw a standard within the rampart, to make the soldiers push on with more briskness, and that the first impression was made in recovering it. The dictator, having levelled the rampart, had now carried the fight within the works, on which the enemy every where began to throw down their arms and surrender; and on giving up themselves and their camp, they were all, except the members of their senate, exposed to sale. Part of the spoil was restored to the Latines and Hernicians, who claimed it as their property; the rest the dictator sold by auction; and having left the consul to command in the camp, after making his entry into the city in triumph, he resigned the dictatorship. Some historians have thrown a gloom on the memory of this glorious dictatorship; they relate that Aulus Postumius beheaded his son, after a successful exploit, because he had left his post without orders, tempted by a favorable opportunity of fighting to advantage. While we feel a reluctance against giving credit to this story, we are also at liberty to reject it, there being a variety of opi-

nions on the subject; and there is this argument against it, that such orders, by those who believe in the circumstance, have been denominated Manlian, not Postumian; while the person who first set an example of such severity would surely have acquired the disgraceful title of cruel. Besides, the surname of Imperiosus has been imposed on Manlius, and Postumius has not been marked by any hateful appellation. The consul Caius Julius, in the absence of his colleague, without casting lots for the employment, dedicated the temple of Apollo; at which Quintius being offended on his return to the city, after disbanding the army made a complaint to the senate, but without any effect. To the great events of this year was added a circumstance which, at that time, did not appear to have any relation to the interests of Rome. The Carthaginians, who were to become such formidable enemies, then, for the first time, on occasion of some intestine broils among the Sicilians transported troops into Sicily in aid of one of the parties.

30. In the city endeavors were used by the tribunes of the commons to procure an election of military tribunes with consular power; but they were not able to effect it. Lucius Papirius Crassus and Lucius Julius were made consuls. [A. U. C. 325. B. C. 427.] Ambassadors from the Æquans having requested of the senate that a treaty of peace might be concluded, it was required of them, that instead of a treaty they should make a surrender of themselves. In the end they obtained a truce of eight years. The affairs of the Volscians, besides the loss sustained at Algidum, were involved in seditions, arising from an obstinate contention between the advocates for peace and those for war. The Romans enjoyed tranquillity on all sides. The consuls having obtained information from one of the tribunes, who betrayed the secret, that those officers intended to promote a law concerning the commutation of fines,¹ which would be highly acceptable to the peo-

¹ The fines imposed in early times were certain numbers of

ple, they themselves took the lead in proposing it. The next consuls were, Lucius Sergius Fidenas, a second time, and Hostus Lucretius Tricipitinus, in whose consulate nothing worth mention occurred. [A. U. C. 326. B. C. 426.] They were succeeded by Aulus Cornelius Coffus and Titus Quintius Pennus, a second time. [A. U. C. 327. B. C. 425.] The Veientians made inroads on the Roman territories; and a report prevailing that some of the youth of Fidenæ were concerned in those depredations, the cognisance of that matter was committed to Lucius Sergius, Quintus Servilius, and Mamercus Æmilius. Some of them, who could not give satisfactory reasons for their being absent from Fidenæ, at the time, were sent into banishment to Ostia. A number of new settlers were added to the colony, to whom were assigned the lands of those who had fallen in war. There was very great distress that year, occasioned by drought; for besides a want of rain, the earth, destitute of its natural moisture, scarcely enabled the rivers to continue their course: in some places the want of water was such, that the cattle died of thirst, in heaps, about the springs and rivulets, which had ceased to flow; in others, they were cut off by the mange, and their disorders began to spread by infection to the human species. At first they fell heavy on the husbandmen and slaves; soon after the city was filled with them: and not only men's bodies were afflicted by the contagion, but superstitions of various kinds, and mostly of foreign growth, took possession also of their minds; while those who converted this weakness to their own emolument introduced into people's families, through their pretences to the art of divination, new modes of worship, until at length the principal men of the state were touched with shame for the dishonor brought on the public, seeing in every street and chapel extraneous and unaccustomed ceremonies of ex-sheep or oxen; afterwards it was ordered by law that these fines might be appraised, and the value paid in money. Another law fixed a certain rate at which the cattle should be estimated, one hundred asses for an ox, ten for a sheep.

piation practised for obtaining the favor of the gods. A charge was then given to the ediles to see that no other deities should be worshipped than those acknowledged by the Romans; nor they, in any other modes than those established by the custom of the country. The prosecution of their resentment against the Veientians was deferred to the ensuing year, wherein Caius Servilius Ahala and Lucius Papirius Mugillanus were consuls: [A. U. C. 328. B. C. 424] even then, an immediate declaration of war and the march of the army were prevented by superstition. It was deemed necessary that heralds should first be sent to demand restitution. There had been open war, and battles fought, with the Veientians, not long before, at Nomentum and Fidene; since which, not a peace, but a truce, had been concluded, the term of which had not yet expired, yet they had renewed hostilities. Nevertheless, the heralds were sent; and when, after taking the customary oath, they demanded satisfaction, no attention was paid to them. Then arose a dispute whether the war should be declared by order of the people, or whether a decree of the senate were sufficient. The tribunes, by threatening openly that they would hinder any levy of soldiers, carried the point that the consuls should take the sense of the people concerning it. All the centuries voted for it. In another particular, too, the commons showed a superiority, for they carried the point that consuls should not be elected for the next year.

31. Four military tribunes, with consular power, were elected: Titus Quintius Pennus, from the consulship, Caius Furius, Marcus Postumius, and Aulus Cornelius Cossus. [A. U. C. 329. B. C. 423.] Of these Cossus held the command in the city. The other three, after enlisting forces, marched to Veii; and there exhibited an instance of the pernicious effects on military operations resulting from a divided command; for while each maintained an opinion different from the rest, and endeavored to enforce his own plans, they gave an opportunity to the enemy to take them at ad-

vantage. Accordingly the Veientians, seizing a critical moment, made an attack on their troops, who knew not how to act, one of their generals ordering the signal for retreat to be given, another the charge to be sounded. They were thrown into confusion consequently, and turned their backs; but found safety in their camp, which was nigh at hand: their disgrace therefore was greater than their loss. The citizens, unaccustomed to defeats, were seized with dismal apprehensions, execrated the tribunes, and called aloud for a dictator; in him alone, they said, the state could place any hopes. Here again a religious scruple interfered, lest there should be an impropriety in a dictator being nominated by any other than a consul: but the augurs being consulted, removed that doubt. *Anulus Cornelius* nominated *Mamercus Æmilius* dictator, and was himself nominated by him master of the horse; so little was the effect of the disgrace inflicted by the censors: for when the state once came to stand in need of a person of real merit, it would not be prevented from seeking a supreme director of its affairs in a house undeservedly censured. The Veientians, puffed up by their success, sent ambassadors to all the states of Etruria, boasting that they had in one battle defeated three Roman generals; and though they could not thereby prevail on the general confederacy to embark publicly in their cause, yet they procured from all parts a number of volunteers allured by the hopes of plunder. The Fidenatians were the only state which resolved to renew hostilities; and, as if there were some kind of impiety in commencing war otherwise than with some atrocious deed, staining their arms now with the blood of the new colonists, as they had formerly done with that of the ambassadors, they joined themselves to the Veientians. The leaders of the two nations then consulted together, whether they should choose *Veii* or *Fidenæ* for the seat of the war: *Fidenæ* appeared the more convenient. The Veientians therefore, crossing the Tiber, removed it thither. At Rome the alarm was excessive: the troops were recalled from

Veii, very much dispirited by their defeat, and encamped before the Colline gate: others were armed and posted on the walls. Business was stopped in the courts of justice, the shops were shut up, and every thing bore the appearance of a camp rather than of a city.

32. The dictator then, sending criers through the streets, called the alarmed people to an assembly, and rebuked them sharply 'for suffering their courage to depend so intirely on every trifling incident in the course of fortune, as that on meeting with an inconsiderable loss, and that not owing to the bravery of the enemy, or to want of courage in the Roman army, but to a disagreement between their commanders, they should be seized with dread of their enemies of Veii, whom they had six times vanquished, and of Fidenæ, a town as often taken as attacked. He reminded them that both the Romans and their enemies were the same that they had been for so many centuries past; their courage the same; their strength of body the same; and the same the arms which they wore. That he himself, Mamercus Æmilius, was also the same dictator who formerly at Fidenæ routed the armies of the Veientians and Fidenatians, when they had the additional support of the Faliscians; and his master of the horse was the same Aulus Cornelius who, in a former war, when he ranked as military tribune, slew Lars Tolumnius, the king of these Veientians, in the sight of both armies, and carried his spolia opima to the temple of Jupiter Feretrius. He exhorted them therefore to take arms, reflecting that on their side were triumphs, on their side spoils, on their side victory: on the side of the enemy, the guilt of violating the laws of nations by the murder of ambassadors, the massacre of the Fidenatian colonists in time of peace, the infraction of truces, and a seventh unsuccessful revolt: assuring them he was fully confident, that when they should have once encamped within reach of the foe, the joy of those enemies, so deeply plunged in guilt for the late disgrace of the Roman

army, would soon be at an end; and also that a demonstration would be given to the Roman people how much better these persons merited of the commonwealth who nominated him dictator a third time, than those who out of malice, on account of his having snatched arbitrary power out of the hands of the censors, threw a blot on his second successful dictatorship.' Having offered up vows to the gods, he soon began his march, and pitched his camp fifteen hundred paces on this side of Fidenæ, having his right covered by mountains, and his left by the river Tiber. He ordered Titus Quintius Pennus, lieutenant-general, to take possession of the hills, and to post himself privately on whatever eminence stood in the enemy's rear. Next day, when the Etrurians had marched out to the field, full of confidence in consequence of their success on the former day, though more indebted for it to accident than to their prowess in fight, the dictator, after waiting a short time until he received information from his scouts that Quintius had reached an eminence which stood near the citadel of Fidenæ, put his troops in motion, and led on his line of infantry in order of battle in their quickest pace against the enemy. The master of the horse he commanded not to enter on action without orders; telling him that he would give a signal when there should be occasion for the aid of the cavalry; and desiring him then to show by his behavior that he still bore in mind his fight with their king, the magnificent offering which he had made, and the respect which he owed to Romulus and Jupiter Feretrius. The legions began the conflict with impetuosity. The Romans, inflamed with keen animosity, gratified their rancor both with deeds and words; upbraiding the Fidenatians with impiety, the Veientians as robbers; calling them truce-breakers, polluted with the horrid murder of ambassadors, stained with the blood of their own brethren of the colony, perfidious allies, and cowardly foes.

33. Their very first onset had made an impression on the enemy; when, on a sudden, the gates of Fidenæ flying open, a strange kind of army sallied forth, un-

known and unheard of before. An immense multitude, armed with burning fire-brands, as if hurried on by frantic rage, rushed on against the Romans. This very extraordinary mode of fighting filled the assailants for some time with terror; on which the dictator, who was actively employed in animating the fight, having called up the master of the horse with the cavalry, and also Quintius from the mountains, hastened himself to the left wing; which being in horror from the conflagration, as it might more properly be called than a battle, had retired from the flames, and with a loud voice called out, 'Will you suffer yourselves to be driven from your ground, and retreat from an unarmed enemy, vanquished with smoke, like a swarm of bees? Will you not extinguish those fires with the sword? Or will you not, each in his post, if we must fight with fire, and not with arms, seize on those brands, and throw them back on the foe? Advance: recollect the honor of the Roman name, your own bravery, and that of your fathers: turn this conflagration on the city of your enemy, and with its own flames demolish Fidenæ, which you could never reclaim by your kindness. This is what the blood of your ambassadors and colonists, and the desolation of your frontiers, ought to suggest.' At the command of the dictator the whole line advanced; the fire-brands which had been thrown were caught up; others were wrested away by force; and thus the troops on both sides were armed alike. The master of the horse too, on his part, introduced among the cavalry a new mode of fighting: he ordered his men to take off the bridles from their horses; while he himself, clapping spurs to his own, sprung forward, and was carried headlong by the unbridled animal into the midst of the flames. In like manner, the other horses being spurred on and freed from all restraint, carried their riders with full speed against the enemy. The clouds of dust intermixed with the smoke excluded the light from both men and horses; so that the latter were consequently not affrighted as the former had been. The cavalry, therefore, wherever they pene-

trated, bore down every thing with irresistible force. A shout was now heard from a new quarter, which having surprised and attracted the attention of both armies, the dictator called out aloud, that his lieutenant-general Quintius and his party had attacked the enemy's rear; and then, raising the shout anew, advanced against them with redoubled vigor. The Etrurians, surrounded and attacked both in front and rear, and closely pressed by two armies in two different battles, had no room for retreat, either to the camp or to the mountains. The way was blocked up by the new enemy; and the horses, freed from the bridles, having spread themselves with their riders over every different part, the greatest number of the Veientians fled precipitately to the Tiber. The surviving Fidenatians made towards the city of Fidenæ. The former, flying in consternation, fell into the midst of their foes, and met destruction. Many were cut to pieces on the banks of the river; some were forced into the water and swallowed in the eddies; even such as were expert at swimming were weighed down by fatigue, by their wounds, and the fright: so that, out of a great number, few reached the opposite bank. The other body proceeded through their camp to the city, whither the Romans briskly pursued them, particularly Quintius, and those who had descended with him from the mountains, these being the freshest for action, as having come up towards the end of the engagement.

34. These entering the gate together with the enemy made their way to the top of the walls, and from thence gave a signal to their friends of the town being taken. The dictator, who had by this time taken possession of the deserted camp, encouraging his men, who were eager to disperse themselves in search of plunder, and with hopes of finding the greater booty in the city, led them on to the gate; and being admitted within the walls, proceeded to the citadel, whither he saw the crowds of fugitives hurrying. Nor was less slaughter made here than in the field; until, throwing down their arms, and begging only their lives, the enemy

surrendered to the dictator: both the city and camp were given up to be plundered. Next day the dictator assigned by lot one captive to each horseman and centurion, and two to such as had distinguished themselves by extraordinary behavior, and sold the rest by auction: then he led back to Rome his victorious army, enriched with abundance of spoil; and ordering the master of the horse to resign his office, he immediately gave up his own, on the sixteenth day of his holding it; leaving the government in a state of tranquillity, which he had received in a state of war and of danger. Some annals have reported that there was also a naval engagement with the Veientians at Fidenæ, a fact equally impracticable and incredible; the river even at present being not broad enough for the purpose, and at that time, as we learn from old writers, considerably narrower. This we can no otherwise account for than by supposing that they magnified the importance of a scuffle which took place, perhaps between a few ships in disputing the passage of the river, and thereon grounded those empty pretensions to a naval victory.

35. The ensuing year had military tribunes with consular power. Aulus Sempronius Atratinus, Lucius Quintus Cincinnatus, Lucius Furius Medullinus, and Lucius Horatius Barbatus. [A. U. C. 330. B. C. 422.] A truce for twenty years was granted to the Veientians; and one for three years to the Æquans, although these had petitioned for a longer term. At home there were no disturbances. The year following, though not distinguished by either troubles abroad or at home, was rendered remarkable by the celebration of the games which had been vowed on occasion of the war, through the splendid manner in which they were exhibited by the military tribunes, and also through the extraordinary concourse of the neighboring people. The tribunes with consular power [A. U. C. 331. B. C. 421] were Appius Claudius Crassus, Spurius Nautius Rutilus, Lucius Sergius Fidenus, and Sextus Julius Iulus. The shows, to which the several people had

come with the concurrent approbation of their states, were rendered more agreeable by the courtesy of their hosts. After the conclusion of the games the tribunes of the commons began their seditious harangues, upbraiding the multitude, 'that they were so benumbed with awe of those very persons who were the objects of their hatred, as to sit down listless in a state of endless slavery; they not only wanted spirit to aspire to the recovery of their hopes of sharing in the consulship, but even in the election of military tribunes, which lay open to both patricians and plebeians, they showed no regard to themselves or their party. They ought therefore to cease wondering that no one busied himself in the service of the commons: labor and danger would always be extended on objects from whence honor and emolument might be looked for; and there was nothing which men would not undertake, if for great attempts, great rewards were proposed. But surely it could neither be required nor expected that any tribune should rush blindfold into disputes, the danger of which was great, the profit nothing: in consequence of which he knew with certainty that the patricians, against whom his efforts were directed, would persecute him with inexpiable rancor; and the commons, on whose side he contended, would never think themselves the more obliged to him. By great honors the minds of men were elevated to greatness: no plebeian would think meanly of himself when he ceased to be contemned by others. The experiment ought at length to be made, whether there were any plebeian capable of sustaining a high dignity, or whether it were next to a miracle and a prodigy that there should exist a man of that extraction endowed with fortitude and industry. By the most vigorous exertions, and after a violent struggle, the point had been gained, that military tribunes with consular power might be chosen from among the commons. Men of approved merit, both in the civil and military line, had stood candidates. During the first years they were hooted at, rejected and ridiculed by the patricians: of late

they had desisted from exposing themselves to insult. For his part he could see no reason why the law itself could not be repealed, which granted permission for that which was never to happen: for they would have less cause to blush at the injustice of the law than at their being passed by on account of their own want of merit.'

36. Discourses of this sort being listened to with approbation, induced several to offer themselves as candidates for the military tribuneship; each professing intentions of introducing when in office some measure or regulation advantageous to the commons. Hopes were held forth of a distribution of the public lands, of colonies to be settled, and of money to be raised for paying the troops, by a tax imposed on the proprietors of estates. The military tribunes soon after laid hold of an opportunity, when most people had retired from the city, having previously given private notice to the senators to attend on a certain day, to procure a decree of the senate, in the absence of the plebeian tribunes,—that whereas it was reported that the Volscians had marched from home with intent to plunder the country of the Hernicians, the military tribunes should therefore proceed to the spot and inspect into the matter; and that an assembly should be held for the election of consuls. At their departure they left Appius Claudius, son of the decemvir, prefect of the city, a young man of activity; and who had even from his cradle imbibed a hatred towards the commons and their tribunes. The plebeian tribunes had no room for contention, neither with those who had procured the decree of the senate during their absence, nor with Appius, as the business was already concluded.

37. The consuls elected were Caius Sempronius Atratinus and Quintus Fabius Vibulanus. [A. U. C. 332. B. C. 420.] An event which is related to have happened in this year, though in a foreign country, deserves to be recorded. Vulturum, a city of the Etrurians, now Capua, was seized by the Samnites,

and called Capua from Capys their leader, or, which is more probable, from its champaign grounds. The manner in which they made themselves masters of it was this: they were some time before, when the Etrurians had been greatly harassed in war, admitted to a share of this city and its lands; these new settlers, afterwards taking the opportunity of a festival, attacked and massacred in the night the first inhabitants, heavy with sleep and food. After this transaction the consuls, whom we have mentioned, entered on office on the ides of December: by this time, not only those employed in inquiries had reported that the Volscians were ready to commence hostilities; but also ambassadors from the Latines and Hernicians had brought information, that 'never at any former time had the Volscians exerted more diligence and care either in the choice of commanders, or the enlisting of troops: that it was a common expression among them, that they must either lay aside for ever all thoughts of war and arms, and submit to the yoke, or they must prove themselves not inferior to their competitors for empire, either in courage, perseverance, or military discipline.' The intelligence was not without foundation: yet the senate were not affected by it, as might have been expected; and Caius Sempronius, to whom the command fell by lot, acted with carelessness and negligence in every particular, relying on fortune, as if it were incapable of change, because he before had headed a victorious soldiery against those who had been before overcome; so that there was more of the Roman discipline in the Volscian army than in his own. Success therefore, as on many other occasions, attended merit. The engagement was entered on by Sempronius, without either prudence or caution, without strengthening the line by a reserve, and without posting the cavalry in a proper situation. The shout gave a presage at the very beginning to which side the victory would incline. That raised by the Volscians was loud and full; whilst the shout of the Romans, dissonant, unequal, lifeless, and often

began anew, betrayed, by its unsteadiness, the fears which possessed them. This made the enemy charge with the greater boldness; they pushed with their shields, and brandished their swords: on the other side, the helmets were seen to droop as the wearers looked round for safety, disconcerted and disordered on every side. The ensigns sometimes kept their ground, deserted by those who ought to support them; at other times they retreated between their respective companies. As yet there was no absolute flight, nor was the victory complete. The Romans covered themselves rather than fought; the Volscians advanced, and pushed fiercely against the line, but still were seen greater numbers of the former falling than running away.

38. The Romans now began to give way in every quarter, while the consul Sempronius in vain reproached them, and exhorted them to stand; neither his authority, nor his dignity, had any effect; and they would shortly have turned their backs to the enemy, had not Sextus Tempanius, a commander of a body of horse, with great presence of mind, brought them support, and when their situation was almost desperate. He called aloud, that the horsemen who wished the safety of the commonwealth should leap from their horses, and his order being obeyed by every troop, as if it had been delivered by the consul, he said, ‘unless this cohort, by the power of its arms, can stop the progress of the enemy, there is an end of the empire. Follow my spear, as your standard: show, both to Romans and Volscians, that as no horse are equal to you when mounted, so no foot are equal to you when you dismount.’ This exhortation being received with a shout of applause, he advanced, holding his spear aloft: wherever they directed their march, they forced their way in spite of opposition; and, advancing their targets, pushed on to the place where they saw the distress of their friends the greatest. The fight was restored in every part as far as their onset reached; and there was no doubt that if it

had been possible for so small a number to have managed the whole business of the field, the enemy would have turned their backs.

39. Finding that nothing could withstand them, the Volscian commander gave directions that an opening should be made for these targeteers, until the violence of their charge should carry them so far, that they might be shut out from their friends: which being executed, the horsemen on their part were intercepted in such a manner that it was impossible for them to force a passage back; the enemy having collected their thickest numbers in the place through which they had made their way. The consul and Roman legions, not seeing any where that body which just before had afforded protection to the whole army, lest so many men of such consummate valor should be surrounded and overpowered by the enemy, resolved at all hazards to push forward. The Volscians, forming two fronts, withstood, on one side the consul: and the legions on the other pressed on Tempanius and the horsemen, who, after many fruitless attempts to break through to their friends, took possession of an eminence, and there forming a circle, defended themselves, not without taking vengeance on the assailants. Nor was the fight ended when night came on. The consul kept the enemy employed, never relaxing his efforts as long as any light remained. The darkness at length separated them, leaving the victory undecided: and such a panic seized both camps, from the uncertainty in which they were with respect to the issue, that both armies, as if they had been vanquished, retreated into the nearest mountains, leaving behind their wounded, and a great part of their baggage. The eminence however was kept besieged until after midnight; when intelligence being brought to the besiegers that their camp was deserted, they, supposing that their friends had been defeated, fled also, each wherever his fears transported him. Tempanius, apprehending an ambush, kept his men quiet until daylight; and then, going out himself with

a small party to make observations, and discovering on inquiry from the wounded men of the enemy that the camp of the Volscians was abandoned, he called down his men from the eminence with great joy, and made his way into the Roman camp. Here finding every place waste and deserted, and in the same disgraceful state in which he had seen the post of the enemy, before the discovery of their mistake should bring back the Volscians, he took with him as many of the wounded as he could ; and not knowing what route the consul had taken, proceeded by the shortest roads to the city.

40. News had already arrived there of the loss of the battle, and of the camp being abandoned : and great lamentations had been made ; for the horsemen above all, the public grief being not inferior to that of their private connexions. The consul Fabius, the city being alarmed for its own safety, had troops posted before the gates, when the horsemen being seen at a distance, occasioned at first some degree of fright, while it was not known who they were ; but this being presently discovered, people's fears were converted into such transports of joy, that every part of the city was filled with shouting ; each one congratulating the other on the return of the horsemen safe and victorious. Then were seen pouring out in crowds into the streets from the houses, which a little before had been filled with lamentation and mourning for friends supposed lost, their mothers and wives ; each rushing wildly to her own, and scarcely retaining in the extravagance of their rejoicings the powers either of mind or body. The tribunes of the commons, who had commenced a prosecution against Marcus Postumius and Titus Quintius, for having occasioned the loss of the battle at Veii, thought that the recent displeasure of the people towards the consul Sempronius afforded a fit opportunity for reviving the anger of the public against them. Having therefore convened the people, they exclaimed loudly that the commonwealth had been betrayed by its commanders at Veii ; and afterwards,

in consequence of their escaping with impunity, the army was also betrayed by the consul in the country of the Volscians, the cavalry, men of distinguished bravery, given up to slaughter, and the camp shamefully deserted. Then Caius Junius, one of the tribunes, ordered Tempanius the horseman to be called, and in their presence addressed him thus: 'Sextus Tempanius, I demand of you, whether it is your opinion that the consul Caius Sempronius either engaged the enemy at a proper season, or strengthened his line with a reserve, or discharged any duty of a good consul; and whether you yourself, when the Roman legions were defeated, did not, of your own judgment, dismount the cavalry and restore the fight? Did he afterwards, when you and the horsemen were shut out from our army, either come himself to your relief, or send you assistance? Then again, on the day following, did you find support any where? Did you and your cohort by your own bravery make your way into the camp? Did you in the camp find any consul or any army? Or, did you find the camp forsaken, and the wounded soldiers left behind? These things, it becomes your bravery and honor, which have proved in this war the security of the commonwealth, to declare this day. In fine, where is Caius Sempronius? where are our legions? Have you been deserted, or have you deserted the consul and the army? In short, have we been defeated, or have we gained the victory?'

41. In answer to these interrogatories, Tempanius is said to have spoken, not with studied eloquence, but with the manly firmness of a soldier, neither vainly displaying his own merit, nor showing pleasure at the censure thrown on others: 'As to the degree of military skill possessed by Caius Sempronius, the general, it was not his duty as a soldier to judge; that was the business of the Roman people, when at the election they chose him consul. He desired therefore that they would not require from him a detail of the designs and duties becoming the office of a general, or

of a consul; matters which, even from persons of the most exalted capacity and genius, required much consideration: but what he saw, that he could relate. He had seen, before his communication with the army was cut off, the consul fighting in the front of the line, encouraging the men, and actively employed between the Roman ensigns and the weapons of the enemy. He was afterwards carried out of sight of his countrymen: however, from the noise and shouting, he perceived that the battle was prolonged until night; nor did he believe that it was in their power, on account of the great numbers of the enemy, to force their way to the eminence where he had taken post. Where the army was, he knew not. He supposed that as he in a dangerous crisis had taken advantage of the ground to secure himself and his men, in like manner the consul, consulting the safety of his army, had chosen a stronger situation for his camp. Nor did he believe that the affairs of the Volscians were in a better posture than those of the Roman people; for fortune and the night had caused abundance of mistakes, both on one side and the other.' He then begged that they would not detain him, as he was much distressed with fatigue and wounds; and he was dismissed with the highest expressions of applause, no less for his modesty than his bravery. Meanwhile the consul had come as far as the Temple of Rest, on the road leading to Lavici; whither waggons and other carriages were sent from the city, and which took up the men who were spent with the fatigue of the action, and the march by night. The consul soon after entered the city, and was not more anxiously desirous to clear himself from blame, than he was to bestow on Tempanius the praise which he deserved. While the minds of the citizens were full of grief for the ill success of their affairs, and of resentment against their commanders, the first object thrown in the way of their ill humor was Marcus Postumius, formerly military tribune, with consular power at Veii, who was brought to trial, and condemned in a fine of ten thousand asses in weight of

brass.¹ Titus Quintius endeavored to transfer all the blame of that event from himself on his colleague, who was already condemned; and as he had conducted business with success, both in the country of the Volscians when consul, under the auspices of the dictator Postumius Tubertus, and also at Fidenæ, when lieutenant-general to another dictator, Mamercus Æmilius, all the tribes acquitted him. It is said that his cause was much indebted to the high veneration in which his father Cincinnatus was held; and likewise to Quintius Capitolinus, who being now extremely old, begged with humble supplications that they would not suffer him who had so short a time to live to carry any dismal tidings to Cincinnatus.

42. The commons created Sextus Tempanius, Aulus Sellius, Lucius Antistius, and Sextus Pompilius, in their absence, plebeian tribunes; [A. U. C. 333. B. C. 419] these being the persons whom, by the advice of Tempanius, the horsemen had appointed to command them as centurions. The senate finding that through the general aversion from Sempronius, the name of consul was become displeasing, ordered military tribunes with consular power to be chosen. Accordingly there were elected Lucius Manlius Capitolinus, Quintus Antonius Merenda, and Lucius Papirius Mugillanus. No sooner had the year begun, than Lucius Hortensius, a plebeian tribune, commenced a prosecution² against Caius Sempronius, consul of the pre-

¹ 32l. 5s. 10l.

² A prosecution before the people was a very tedious business, and afforded the person accused many chances of escaping, even though he should not be able to prove his innocence; he might prevail on the prosecutor to relinquish the charge, or on a plebeian tribune to interpose, or on the augurs to report ill omens on the day of the assembly for the decision; or at the worst, he might go into voluntary exile. A magistrate, who intended to impeach a person before the people, mounted the rostrum, and gave notice that on such a day he intended to accuse that person of such a crime; on which the party accused was obliged to give bail for his appearance, which, if he failed to do, he was thrown into prison.

ceding year. His four colleagues, in the presence of the Roman people, besought him not to involve in vexation an unoffending general, in whose case fortune alone could be blamed: Hortensius took offence at this, thinking it meant a trial of his perseverance; and that the accused depended not on the intreaties of the tribunes, which were thrown out only for the sake of appearance, but on their protection. Turning first therefore to him, he asked, 'Where were the haughty airs of the patrician? Where was the spirit upheld in confidence by conscious innocence, that a man of consular dignity took shelter under the shade of tribunes?' Then to his colleagues: 'As to you, what is your intention in case I persist in the prosecution? Do you mean to rob the people of their jurisdiction, and to overturn the power of the tribunes?' To this they replied: 'That with respect both to Sempronius and to all others, the Roman people possessed supreme authority; that it was neither in their power nor in their wishes to obstruct the exercise of it; but if their prayers in behalf of their general, who was to them a parent, should have no effect, they were determined to change their apparel along with him.' Hortensius then declared, 'the commons of Rome shall not see their tribunes in the garb of culprits: I have nothing farther to say to Sempronius, since, by his conduct in

On the day appointed, the people being assembled (by centuries, if the crime charged was capital, by tribes, if finable), the person accused was summoned by the crier, and if he did not appear, was punished at the pleasure of the prosecutor. If he appeared, the accuser mounted the rostrum, and began his charge, which he carried on through that and two other days, allowing an interval of one day between each. On the third day he made a recapitulation of the charge, and mentioned the punishment specified in the law for such an offence. This was expressed in writing, and exhibited to public view during three market-days. On the day after the third market-day the accuser finished the business of the prosecution, and concluded with giving notice of the day on which the assembly should meet to pass judgment. The accused was then at liberty to make his defence, either by himself, or by advocates.

command, he has rendered himself so dear to his soldiers.' Nor was the dutiful attachment of the four tribunes more pleasing to the patricians and to the commons, than was the temper of Hortensius, complying so readily with intreaties founded on justice. Fortune no longer indulged the Æquans, who had embraced the doubtful success of the Volscians as their own.

ever, was it dropped by them than it was taken up by the tribunes, while several other seditious schemes were continually started, and among the rest, one for an agrarian law. The senate was desirous, on account of these commotions, that consuls should be elected rather than tribunes, but no decree could be passed, by reason of the protests of the tribunes, so that the government, from being consular, became a kind of interregnum: nor was even that accomplished without a violent struggle, the tribunes obstructing the meeting of the patricians. The greater part of the ensuing year was wasted in contentions between the new tribunes, and the several interreges, the tribunes sometimes hindering the patricians from assembling to declare an interrex; at others, protesting against the interreges passing a decree for the election of consuls; at last, Lucius Papirius Mugillanus being declared interrex, severely reprov'd both the senate and the plebeian tribunes, affirming, that 'the commonwealth, being forsaken by men, and preserved by the care and providence of the gods, subsisted merely by means of the Veientian truce, and the dilatoriness of the Æquans: from which quarter, should an alarm of danger be heard, did they think it right that the nation, destitute of a patrician magistrate, should be exposed to a surprise? That it neither should have an army, nor a general to enlist one? Did they think an intestine war the proper means to repel a foreign one? Should both take place at the same time, the power of the gods would scarcely be able to preserve the Roman state from ruin. It were much fitter that both parties should remit somewhat of their strict rights; and, by a mutual compromise of their pretensions, unite the whole in concord, the senate permitting military tribunes to be appointed instead of consuls, and the tribunes of the commons ceasing to protest against the four questors being chosen out of the patricians and plebeians indiscriminately, by the free suffrages of the people.'

44. The election of tribunes was first held, [A. U. C. 335. B. C. 417] and there were chosen tribunes, with

consular power, Lucius Quintius Cincinnatus a third time, Lucius Furius Medullinus a second time, Marcus Manlius and Aulus Sempronius Atratinus, all patricians. The last named tribune presided at the election of questors, when there appeared, among several other plebeian candidates, a son of Antistius, a plebeian tribune, and a brother of Sextus Pompilius, of the same order : but neither their power nor interest were able to prevent the people from choosing rather to raise those to the rank of nobility, whose fathers and grandfathers they had seen in the consulship. This enraged all the tribunes to madness, especially Pompilius and Antistius, who were incensed at the disappointment of their relations. 'What could be the meaning of this,' they said, 'that neither their services, nor the injurious behavior of the patricians, nor even the pleasure of exercising a newly acquired right, though a power was now granted which had hitherto been refused, had been sufficient to procure, for any plebeian whatever, the office of military tribune, or even that of questor? The prayers of a father in behalf of his son, those of one brother in behalf of another, those of persons invested with the tribuneship of the commons, that sacred and inviolable power created for the protection of liberty, had all proved ineffectual. There must certainly have been some fraudulent practices in the case, and Aulus Sempronius must have used more artifice in the election than was consistent with honor:' in fine, they complained loudly that their relations had been disappointed of the office by his unfair conduct. But as no serious attack could be made on him, because he was secured, both by innocence and by the office which he held at the time, they turned their resentment against Caius Sempronius, uncle to Atratinus; and, aided by Camuleius, one of their colleagues, entered a prosecution against him on account of the disgrace sustained in the Volscian war. By the same tribunes mention was frequently introduced in the senate of the distribution of lands, which scheme Caius Sempronius had always most vigorously opposed; for they foresaw, as

it fell out, that, on the one hand, should he forsake that cause, he would be less warmly defended by the patricians; and, on the other, if he should persevere at the time when his trial was approaching, he would give offence to the commons. He chose to face the torrent of popular displeasure, and rather to injure his own cause than to be wanting to that of the public; and therefore, standing firm in the same opinion, he declared that ‘no such largess should be made, which would only tend to aggrandise the three tribunes; affirming that the object of their pursuits was not to procure lands for the commons, but ill-will against him. That, for his own part, he would undergo the storm with determined resolution; and, with regard to the senate, it was their duty not to set so high a value on him or any other citizen, as through tenderness to an individual, to give room for an injury to the public.’ When the day of trial arrived, he pleaded his own cause with the same degree of intrepidity; and, notwithstanding the patricians used every expedient to soften the commons, he was condemned in a fine of fifteen thousand asses.¹ The same year Postumia, a vestal virgin, was charged with breach of chastity. She was free from the guilt, but took too little pains to avoid the imputation of it, which was grounded merely on suspicion, caused by her too great gaiety of dress, and from her manners being less reserved than became her state. The trial having been adjourned to a farther hearing, and she being afterwards acquitted, the chief pontiff, by direction of the college, ordered her to refrain from indiscreet mirth; and, in her dress, to attend more to the sanctity of her character than to the fashion. In this year Cumæ, a city then possessed by Greeks, was taken by the Campanians.

45. The ensuing year [A. U. C. 336. B. C. 416] had for military tribunes with consular power, Agrippa Menenius Lanatus, Publius Lucretius Tricipitinus,

¹ 48*l.* 8*s.* 9*d.*

Spurius Nautius, and Caius Servilius; a year which by good fortune was rendered remarkable, rather by great danger than by losses. The slaves formed a conspiracy to set fire to the city in different quarters; and while the people should be every where intent on saving the houses, to take arms and seize on the citadel and the capitol. Jupiter frustrated their horrid designs, and the offenders being seized on the information of two of their number, were punished. The informers were rewarded with their freedom, and ten thousand asses¹ in weight of brass, paid out of the treasury, a sum which, at that time, was reckoned wealth. Soon after intelligence was received at Rome, from good authority, that the Æquans were preparing to renew hostilities, and that this old enemy was joined in the design by a new one, the Lavicanians. Fighting with the Æquans was now become to the state almost an anniversary custom. To Lavici ambassadors were sent, who having returned with an evasive answer, from which it was evident that, though immediate war was not intended, yet peace would not be of long continuance, orders were given to the Tusculans to watch attentively, lest any new commotion should arise at Lavici. The military tribunes with consular power of the next year, [A. U. C. 337. B. C. 415] Lucius Sergius Fidenas, Marcus Papirius Mugillanus, Caius Servilius, son of Priscus, who, in his dictatorship, had taken Fidenæ, were soon after the commencement of their office attended by an embassy from Tusculum, the purport of which was, that the Lavicanians had taken arms, and after having, in conjunction with the Æquans, ravaged that territory, had pitched their camp at Algidum. War was then proclaimed against the Lavicanians. The senate having decreed that two of the tribunes should go out to command the army, and that the other should manage affairs at Rome, there sprung up on a sudden a warm dispute among the tribunes, each representing himself as the fittest

¹ 32l. 5s. 10d.

person to command in the war, and scorning the business of the city as disagreeable and inglorious. The senate beholding with surprise this indecent contention between the colleagues, Quintus Servilius said, 'Since you pay no deference either to this august body, or to the commonwealth, parental authority shall put an end to your unseemly altercation. My son, without putting it to the lots, shall hold the command in the city. I hope that those who are so ambitious of being employed in the war, may act with greater prudence and manliness in their conduct of it than they show in their present competition.'

46. It was resolved that the levy should not be made out of the whole body of the people indiscriminately: ten tribes were drawn by lot, and out of these the tribunes enlisted the younger men, and led them to the field. The contentions which began in the city were, through the same eager ambition for command, raised to a much greater height in the camp. On no one point did their sentiments agree; each contended strenuously for his own opinion; endeavored to have his own plans and his own commands only put in execution; showed a contempt of the other, and met with a like contempt in return: until at length, on the remonstrances of the lieutenant-generals, they came to a compromise, which was to enjoy the supreme command alternately, each for a day. When these proceedings were reported at Rome, Quintus Servilius, whose wisdom was matured by age and experience, is said to have prayed to the immortal gods that the discord of the tribunes might not prove, as he feared it might, more detrimental to the commonwealth than it had done at Veii; and to have urged his son earnestly to enlist soldiers and prepare arms, as if he foresaw with certainty some impending misfortune. Nor was he a false prophet; for under the conduct of Lucius Sergius, whose day of command it was, the troops were suddenly attacked by the Æquans, in disadvantageous ground, adjoining the enemy's camp; into which they had been decoyed by vain hopes of master-

ing it; the enemy counterfeiting fear, and having retreated to their rampart. They were driven in great disorder down a declivity in the rear, and while they tumbled one on another, rather than fled, vast numbers were overpowered and slain. With difficulty they defended the camp for that day; and on the following, the enemy having invested it on several sides, they abandoned it in shameful flight through the opposite gate. The generals, lieutenant-generals, and such part of the body of the army as followed the colors, took the route to Tusculum: the rest dispersing up and down made their way to Rome by many different roads, bringing exaggerated accounts of the disaster which had happened. This unfortunate affair caused the less consternation, because it was not unexpected, and because there was a reinforcement of troops already prepared by the military tribune, to which, in this disorder of their affairs, they could look for security. By his orders also, after the confusion in the city had been quieted by means of the inferior magistrates, scouts were instantly despatched for intelligence, who brought accounts that the generals and the army were at Tusculum, and that the enemy had not removed their camp. But what chiefly contributed to raise people's spirits was, that in pursuance of a decree of the senate, Quintus Servilius Priscus was created dictator, a man whose extensive judgment in public affairs the state had experienced, as well on many former occasions as in the issue of that campaign; he alone having, before the misfortune happened, expressed apprehensions of danger from the disputes of the tribunes. He appointed for his master of the horse the tribune by whom he had been nominated dictator, his own son, according to some accounts; but other writers mention Servilius Ahala as master of the horse that year. Then putting himself at the head of the new raised troops, and sending orders to those at Tusculum to join him, he marched against the enemy, and chose ground for his camp within two miles of theirs.

47. The negligence and the vanity inspired by suc-

cess, which were formerly manifested in the Roman commanders, were now transferred to the Æquans. In the first engagement, the dictator having thrown the enemy's van into disorder by a charge of the cavalry, immediately directed the infantry to advance with speed, and slew one of his own standard bearers who did not readily obey the order. Such ardor was in consequence displayed by the troops, that the Æquans could not support the shock of their onset. Vanquished in the field, they fled precipitately to their camp, the taking of which cost even less time and trouble than the battle had done. After the camp had been taken and plundered, the dictator giving up the spoil to the soldiers, the horsemen, who had pursued the enemy in their flight, returned with intelligence, that after their defeat all the Lavicanians, and a great part of the Æquans, had retreated to Lavici; on which the army was next day conducted thither, and the town, being invested on every side, was taken by storm. The dictator having led back his victorious army to Rome, resigned his office on the eighth day after his appointment; and the senate, seizing the opportunity, before the tribunes of the commons should raise seditions about the agrarian laws, voted, in full assembly, that a colony should be conducted to Lavici, at the same time introducing a proposal for a distribution of its lands. One thousand five hundred colonists sent from the city received each two acres. During two years after the taking of Lavici, [A. U. C. 338. B. C. 414] in the first of which Agrippa Menenius Lanatus, Lucius Servilius Structus, Publius Lucretius Tricipitinus, all these a second time, and Spurius Rutilius Crassus were military tribunes with consular power; and in the following, [A. U. C. 339. B. C. 413] Aulus Sempronius Atratinus a third time, and Marcus Papirius Mugillanus and Spurius Nautius Rutilus both a second time. There was tranquillity with respect to affairs abroad, but at home dissensions occasioned by agrarian laws.

48. The incendiaries of the populace were the

Spurii, tribunes of the commons, Mæcilius a fourth time, and Mætilius a third, both elected in their absence. A very violent contest between the patricians and plebeians was now expected on the subject of the agrarian laws; for these tribunes had publicly proposed that the lands taken from their enemies should be distributed in such a manner that every man might have a share. Had this proposal passed into a law, the property of a great part of the nobles would have been confiscated; for scarcely was there any of the public territory, not even the ground on which the city itself was built, but what had been acquired by arms; all of which consequently must have been comprehended in it; nor could the military tribunes, either in the senate, or in the private meetings of the nobles, devise, in this exigency, any promising plan of conduct: when Appius Claudius, grandson of him who had been decemvir for compiling the laws, being the youngest senator in the assembly, is said to have told them that 'he had brought from home for their use an old scheme which had been first devised by his family: that his great-grandfather Appius Claudius had shown the patricians one method of baffling the power of the tribunes by the protests of their colleagues: that new men were easily drawn off from their designs by the influence of people of consequence, if they were addressed in language suited to the times rather than to the dignity of the speakers. Their sentiments were ever directed by their circumstances. When they should see that their colleagues who first set the business on foot had got the start, and monopolised the whole credit of it with the commons, so that there was no room left for them to come in for any share, they would, without reluctance, lean for support to the cause of the senate, by means of which they might conciliate the favor, not only of the principal patricians, but of the whole body.' Every one expressing approbation, and particularly Quintus Servilius Priscus, highly commending the youth for not having degenerated from the Claudian race, a general charge was given

that they should gain over as many of the college of tribunes as possible to enter protests. On the breaking up of the senate, the principal patricians made their applications to the tribunes, and by persuasions, admonitions, and assurances that it would be acknowledged as a favor by each of them in particular, and also by the whole senate, they prevailed on six to promise their protests. Accordingly on the day following when the senate was consulted, as had been preconcerted, concerning the sedition which Mæcilius and Mætilius were exciting, by the proposal of a largess of most pernicious tendency, the speeches of the principal patricians ran all in the same strain, each declaring that for his part 'he could neither devise any satisfactory mode of proceeding, nor could he see a remedy any where, unless it were found in the protection of the tribunes. To that office the commonwealth, embarrassed with difficulties, in like manner as a private person in distress, had now recourse for aid: and that it would be highly honorable to themselves and to their office, if they showed that the tribuneship possessed not greater power to harass the senate and excite discord between the orders of the state, than to favor ill-designing colleagues.' The voices of the whole senate were then heard together, appeals to the tribunes coming from every corner of the house; and in some time, silence being obtained, those who had been prepared through the influence of the principal nobility gave notice 'that the proposal of a law, published by their colleagues, which, in the judgment of the senate, tended to the dissolution of the commonwealth, they would oppose with their protests.' The thanks of the senate were given to the protestors: but the authors of the proposal having called an assembly of the people, abused their colleagues as traitors to the interests of the commons and slaves to the consulars; but after uttering other bitter invectives against them, dropped the prosecution of their scheme.

49. The two perpetual enemies of the Romans would have given them employment during the following

year, [A. U. C. 340. B. C. 412] in which Publius Cornelius Cossus, Caius Valerius Potitus, Quintus Quintus Cincinnatus, and Numerius Fabius Vibulanus, were military tribunes with consular power, had not the religious scruples of their leaders deferred the military operations of the Veientians, in consequence of their lands having suffered severely, principally in the destruction of their country-seats, by an inundation of the Tiber. At the same time, the Æquans, by the loss which they had sustained three years before, were deterred from affording aid to the Volani, one of their kindred states. These had made inroads on the contiguous district of Lavici, and committed hostilities on the new colony: in which unjust proceeding they had hoped to have been supported by the concurrence of all the Æquans; but being forsaken by their confederates, they, without performing any action worth mentioning, were stripped, in one slight battle and a siege, both of their lands and their city. An attempt made by Lucius Sextius, plebeian tribune, to procure a law that a colony should be sent to Volæ, in like manner as to Lavici, was crushed by the protests of his colleagues; who declared openly that they would not suffer any order of the commons to be passed, unless it were approved by the senate. Next year [A. U. C. 341. B. C. 411] the Æquans having recovered Volæ and sent a colony thither, strengthened the town with additional fortifications, the military tribunes with consular power at Rome being Cneius Cornelius Cossus, Lucius Valerius Potitus, Quintus Fabius Vibulanus a second time, and Marcus Postumius Regillensis. The conduct of the war with the Æquans was intrusted to the last-mentioned, a man of a depraved mind; which, however, did not appear so much in his management of the campaign, as in his behavior on gaining success. Having with great activity levied an army and marched to Volæ, after breaking the spirits of the Æquans in slight engagements, he at length forced his way into the place; where he began a contention with his countrymen, instead of the Æquans: for having pro-

claimed during the assault that the plunder should be given to the soldiers, he broke his word on getting possession of the town. This I am inclined to believe was the cause of the displeasure of the army, rather than from finding less booty than the tribune had represented, and which they could not well expect in a new colony, and a town which had been sacked a short time before. Their anger was farther inflamed on his return to the city, (whither he had been summoned by his colleagues on account of seditions raised by the plebeian tribunes,) from an expression which he was heard to utter in an assembly of the people, and which showed great weakness, or rather a degree of insanity. On Sextius the plebeian tribune proposing an agrarian law, and at the same time declaring that he would also propose the sending of a colony to Volæ, because those men deserved to enjoy the city and lands of Volæ who had gained possession of them by their arms, he exclaimed, ‘Wo to my soldiers, if they are not quiet.’ Which words gave not greater offence to the assembly than they did soon after to the patricians when they heard them; and the plebeian tribune, a keen man, and not destitute of eloquence, having found among his adversaries this haughty temper and ungoverned tongue, which he could easily provoke to such expressions as would excite indignation, not only against himself, but against the whole body and their cause, took occasion to draw Postumius more frequently into disputes than any other of the military tribunes. But now, on such a barbarous and inhuman expression, he remarked, ‘Do you hear him, citizens, denouncing wo to soldiers as he would to slaves? and yet this brute will be judged by you more deserving of his high office than those who send you into colonies, and enrich you with lands and cities; who provide a settlement for your old age; and who fight to the last in defence of your interests. Begin then to learn why so few undertake your cause. What would they have to expect at your hands? posts of honor? These you choose to confer on your adversaries, rather than on

the champions of the Roman people. You murmured just now on hearing that man's words. What does that avail? If you had an opportunity this moment of giving your votes, you would no doubt prefer him who denounces wo to you, before those who wish to procure establishments for you, of lands, habitations, and property.'

50. The words of Postumius being conveyed to the soldiers, excited in the camp a much higher degree of indignation. 'Should a fraudulent embezzler of the spoils,' they said, 'denounce also wo to the soldiers?' A general and open avowal of their resentment ensuing, the questor, Publius Sextius, supposing that the mutiny might be quashed by the same violence which had given rise to it, sent a lictor to one of the most clamorous of the soldiers; on which a tumult and scuffle arose, in which he received a blow of a stone, which obliged him to withdraw from the crowd: the person who had wounded him adding, with a sneer, that 'the questor had got what the general had threatened to the soldiers.' Postumius being sent for, on account of this disturbance, exasperated still farther the general ill humor by the severity of his inquiries and cruelty of his punishments. At last, a crowd being drawn together by the cries of some whom he had ordered to be put to death under a hurdle, he gave a loose to his rage, running down from the tribunal like a madman against those who interrupted the execution. There the indignation of the multitude, increased by the lictors clearing the way on all sides, and by the conduct of the centurions, burst out with such fury, that the tribune was overwhelmed with stones by his own troops. When this deed of such a heinous nature was reported at Rome, and the military tribunes endeavored to procure a decree of the senate for an inquiry into the death of their colleague, the plebeian tribunes interposed their protest. But this dispute was a branch of a contest of another kind; for the patricians had been seized with apprehensions that the commons, actuated by resentment and dread of the

inquiries, would elect military tribunes out of their own body; therefore they labored with all their might for an election of consuls. The plebeian tribunes, not suffering the decree of the senate to pass, and also protesting against the election of consuls, the affair was brought to an interregnum. The patricians then obtained the victory.

51. Quintus Fabius Vibulanus, interrex, presiding in the assembly, Marcus Cornelius Cossus and Lucius Furius Medullinus were chosen consuls. [A. U. C. 342. B. C. 410.] In the beginning of their year of office the senate passed a decree that the tribunes should, without delay, propose to the commons an inquiry into the murder of Postumius, and that the commons should appoint whomsoever they should think proper to conduct the inquiry. The employment was, by a vote of the commons, which was approved by the people at large, committed to the consuls; who, notwithstanding they proceeded in the business with the utmost moderation and lenity, passing sentence of punishment only on a few who, as there is good reason to believe, put an end to their own lives, yet could he not prevent the commons from conceiving the highest displeasure, and from observing that 'any constitutions enacted for their advantage lay long dormant and unexecuted; whereas a law passed in the mean time, consigning their persons and lives to forfeiture, was instantly enforced, and that with such full effect.' This would have been a most seasonable time, after the punishment of the mutiny, to have soothed their minds with such a healing measure as the distribution of the territory of Volæ; as it would have diminished their eagerness in the pursuit of an agrarian law, which tended to expel the patricians from the public lands, the possession of which they had unjustly acquired. But, as matters were managed, the ill treatment shown them in this very instance was an additional source of vexation, as the nobility not only persisted with obstinacy to retain possession of those public lands, but even refused to distribute to the commons such as had been lately

taken from the enemy, which otherwise would, like the rest, in a short time become the prey of a few. This year the legions were led out by the consul Furius against the Volscians, who were ravaging the country of the Hernicians; but not finding the enemy there, they proceeded to and took Ferentinum, whither a great multitude had retreated. The quantity of the spoil was less than they had expected, because the Volscians, seeing small hopes of holding out, had carried off their effects by night, and abandoned the town; which, being left almost without an inhabitant, fell next day into the hands of the Romans. The lands were given to the Hernicians.

52. That year, through the moderation of the tribunes, passed in domestic quiet; [A. U. C. 343. B. C. 409] but the succeeding one, wherein Quintus Fabius Ambustus and Caius Furius Pacilus were consuls, was ushered in with the turbulent operations of Lucius Icilius, a plebeian tribune. Whilst in the very beginning of the year he was employed in exciting sedition by the publication of agrarian laws, as if that were a task incumbent on his name and family, a pestilence broke out, more alarming however than deadly, which diverted men's thoughts from the forum and political disputes to their own houses and the care of their personal safety. It is believed that the disorder was less fatal in its effects than the sedition would have proved, the state being delivered from it with the loss of very few lives, though the sickness had been exceedingly general. This year [A. U. C. 344. B. C. 408] of pestilence was succeeded by one of scarcity, owing to the neglect of agriculture, usual in such cases. Marcus Papirius Atratinus and Caius Nautius Rutilus were consuls. Famine would now have produced more dismal effects than the pest, had not a supply been procured to the market by despatching envoys round all the nations bordering on the Tuscan Sea, and on the Tiber, to purchase corn. The Samnites, who were then in possession of Capua and Cumæ, in a haughty manner prohibited them from trading there: they met, how-

ever, with a different reception from the tyrants of Sicily, who kindly afforded every assistance. The largest supplies were brought down by the Tiber, through the very active zeal of the Etrurians. In consequence of the sickness the consuls were at a loss for men to transact the business of the nation; so that, not finding more than one senator for each embassy, they were obliged to join to it two knights. Except from the sickness and the scarcity, there happened nothing during those two years, either at home or abroad, to give them any trouble. But no sooner did those causes of uneasiness disappear, than all the evils which had hitherto so frequently distressed the state started up together, intestine discord and foreign wars.

53. In the succeeding consulate of Mamercus Æmilius and Caius Valerius Potitus [A. U. C. 345. B. C. 407] the Æquans made preparations for war; and the Volscians, though they took not arms by public authority, supplied them with volunteers who served for pay. On the report of hostilities having been committed by them, for they had now marched out into the territories of the Latines and Hernicians, Valerius the consul began to enlist troops, whilst Marcus Mænius, a plebeian tribune, who was pushing forward an agrarian law, obstructed the levies; and as the people were secure of the support of the tribune, no one who did not choose it took the military oath,—when, on a sudden, news arrived that the citadel of Carventa had been seized by the enemy. The disgrace incurred by this event, while it served the senate as a ground of severe reproaches against Mænius, afforded at the same time to the other tribunes, who had been already pre-engaged to protest against the agrarian law, a more justifiable pretext for acting in opposition to their colleague. Wherefore, after the business had been protracted to a great length by wrangling disputes, the consuls, appealing to gods and men, maintained that whatever losses or disgrace had already been, or was likely to be suffered from the enemy, the blame of all was to be imputed to Mænius, who hindered the levies:

Mænius, on the other hand, exclaiming, that if the unjust occupiers would resign the possession of the public lands, he would give no delay to the levies. On this the nine tribunes interposed, by a decree, and put an end to the contest; proclaiming as the determination of their college, that 'they would, for the purpose of enforcing the levy, in opposition to the protest of their colleague, support Caius Valerius in inflicting fines and other penalties on such as should refuse to enlist.' Armed with this decree, the consul ordered a few who appealed to the tribune to be taken into custody; at which the rest, being terrified, took the military oath. The troops were led to the citadel of Carventa; and though mutual dislike prevailed between them and the consul, yet, as soon as they arrived at the spot, they retook the citadel with great spirit, driving out the troops which defended it. Numbers having carelessly straggled from the garrison in search of plunder, had left the place so exposed as to be attacked with success. The booty was there considerable, because the whole of what they collected in their continual depredations had been stored up in the citadel as a place of safety. This the consul ordered the questors to sell by auction, and to carry the produce into the treasury; declaring that when the soldiers should appear not to have a desire to decline the service they should then share in the spoil. This so much increased the anger of the people and soldiers against the consul, that when, in pursuance of a decree of the senate, he entered the city in ovation, in the couplets of rude verses, thrown out with military license, and in which he was reflected on with severity, the name of Mænius was extolled with praises; and on every mention of the tribune the attachment of the surrounding populace manifested itself in expressions of approbation and applause, which vied with the commendations of the soldiers. This circumstance, in regard to the tribune, more than the wanton raillery of the soldiers against the consul, and which was in some measure customary, gave great uneasiness to the senate;

so that, not doubting but Mænius would be honored with a place among the military tribunes, if he were to be a candidate, they put it out of his reach by appointing an election of consuls.

54. The consuls elected were Cneius Cornelius Cosus and Lucius Furius Medullinus, a second time. [A. U. C. 346. B. C. 406.] The commons were never more highly displeased than now, at not being allowed to elect tribunes. At the nomination of questors they discovered this displeasure; and at the same time took their revenge by raising, for the first time, plebeians to their place: of the four appointed, Cæso Fabius Ambustus was the only patrician; the three plebeians, Quintus Silius, Publius Ælius, and Publius Pupius, being preferred before young men of the most illustrious families. That the people exerted this freedom in giving their suffrages was owing, I find, to the Icilii; out of which family, the most hostile of any to the patricians, three were chosen tribunes for that year; who, after flattering the multitude with the prospect of various and great designs to be achieved, and thereby exciting their most ardent expectations, affirmed that they would not stir a step unless the nation would, at least in the election of questors, the only one which the senate had left open to both patricians and plebeians, show a proper degree of spirit for the accomplishment of what they had long wished for, and what the laws had put in their power. The commons therefore considered this as an important victory; and estimated the questorship in its present state, not according to the intrinsic value of the office itself, but as it appeared to lay open to new men an access to the consulship and the honors of a triumph. On the other hand, the patricians expressed great indignation at the prospect of the posts of honor not only being shared with others, but perhaps lost to themselves; affirming that 'if things were to remain in that state, it would be folly to educate children, who, being excluded from the station of their ancestors, and seeing such in possession of their rightful honors, would be left without

command or power in the character of *Salii* or *Flamens*, with no other employment than that of offering sacrifices for the people.' The minds of both parties became highly irritated, while the commons assumed new courage, in having acquired three leaders of the popular cause of most distinguished reputation. The senate, seeing that every election wherein the commons had liberty of choosing out of both parties would prove in the issue like that of the *questors*, were earnest for the naming of consuls, which was not yet laid open to them. On the other hand, the *Icili* insisted that military tribunes should be elected, and some posts of dignity be at length imparted to the commons.

55. The consuls had no business on their hands by an opposition to which they could extort a compliance to their wishes ; when, at a moment surprisingly seasonable for their purpose, news was brought that the *Volscians* and *Æquans* had marched beyond their own frontiers to ravage the lands of the *Latines* and *Hernicians*. But when the consuls began to levy troops, the tribunes exerted themselves strenuously to hinder it ; affirming that this was an advantageous opportunity presented by fortune to them and to the commons. There were three of them, all men of the most active talents and considerable families among the plebeians. Two of these chose each a consul, whose motions he was to watch with unremitting assiduity ; the third had the charge assigned him of sometimes restraining, sometimes spiriting up the commons, by his harangues. Thus the consuls could not accomplish the levy, nor the tribunes the election which they had planned. After some time expresses arrived that the *Æquans* had attacked the citadel of *Carventa*, while the soldiers of the garrison were straggling abroad in search of plunder, and had put to death the few who were left to guard it : that several were slain as they were hastily returning to the citadel, with others who were dispersed through the country. This incident, while it prejudiced the state, added force to the project of the tribunes : for though assailed by every argument to

induce them to desist, at least in the present situation of affairs, from obstructing the business of the war, they would not give way either to the storm which threatened the public, or to the torrent of displeasure to which themselves were exposed; and at length carried their point, that the senate should pass a decree for the election of military tribunes. This, however, was accompanied with an express stipulation that no person should be admitted as a candidate who was in that year a plebeian tribune; and that no plebeian tribune should be rechosen for the year following: the senate, in this, pointing undoubtedly at the Icili, whom they suspected of aiming at the consular tribuneship. After this the levy and other preparations for war went forward, with the general concurrence of all ranks. The diversity of the accounts given by writers renders it uncertain whether the two consuls marched to the citadel of Carventa, or whether one remained at home to hold the elections; but those facts in which they do not disagree we may receive as certain; that, after having carried on the attack for a long time without effect, the army retired from that citadel: that, by the same army, Verrugo, in the country of the Volscians, was retaken, great devastation made, and immense booty captured, in the territories both of the Æquans and Volscians.

56. At Rome [A. U. C. 347. B. C. 406], as the commons gained the victory, so far as to procure the kind of election which they preferred, so in the issue of it the patricians were victorious: for, contrary to the expectations of all, three patricians were chosen military tribunes with consular power; Caius Julius Iulus, Publius Cornelius Cossus, and Caius Servilius Ahala. It is said that an artifice was practised by the patricians on the occasion, and the Icili charged them with it at the time; that by intermixing a number of unworthy candidates with the deserving, they turned away the people's thoughts from the plebeian candidates. The disgust was excited by the remarkable meanness of some of the number. Information was

now received that the Volscians and Æquans, actuated by hopes, from having been able to keep possession of the citadel of Carventa, or by anger, for the loss of the garrison of Verrugo, had in conjunction commenced hostilities, with the utmost force which they could muster, and that the Antians were the chief promoters of this measure ; for that their ambassadors had gone about among both those states, upbraiding their spiritless conduct, saying, that they had the year before lain hid behind walls, and suffered the Romans to carry their depredations through every part of the country, and the garrison of Verrugo to be overpowered. That now armed troops, as well as colonies, were sent into their territories ; and that the Romans not only kept possession of their property, and distributed it among themselves, but even made presents of a part of it to the Hernicians of Terentinum, a district of which they had been stripped. People's minds being inflamed by these representations of the envoys, great numbers of the young men were enlisted. Thus the youth of all the several nations were drawn together to Antium, and there pitching their camp, they waited the attack. These violent proceedings being reported at Rome, and exaggerated beyond the truth, the senate instantly ordered a dictator to be nominated, their ultimate resource in all perilous conjunctures. We are told that this measure gave great offence to Julius and Cornelius, and was not accomplished without much ill temper in others. The principal patricians, after many fruitless complaints against the military tribunes, for refusing to be directed by the senate, at last went so far as to appeal to the tribunes of the commons, representing that compulsory measures had been used by that body even to consuls in a similar case. The plebeian tribunes, overjoyed at this dissension among the patricians, made answer, that ' there was no support to be expected from persons who were not accounted in the number of citizens, and scarcely of the human race. If at any time the posts of honor should cease to be confined to one party, and the peo-

ple should be admitted to a share in the administration of government, they would then exert their endeavors to prevent the decrees of the senate being invalidated by any arrogance of magistrates. Until then, the patricians, who were under no restraint in respect to the laws, might by themselves manage the tribunitian office along with the rest.'

57. This connexion, at a most unseasonable time, and when they had on their hands a war of such importance, occupied every one's thoughts; until at length, after Julius and Cornelius had for a long time descanted, by turns, on the injustice done them in snatching out of their hands the honorable employment intrusted to them by the people (they being sufficiently qualified to conduct the war), Servilius Ahala, one of the military tribunes, said, that 'he had kept silence so long, not because he was in doubt as to the part he ought to take; for what good citizen would consider his own emolument rather than that of the public? but because he wished that his colleagues would, of their own accord, yield to the authority of the senate, rather than let supplications be made to the college of tribunes for support against them. That notwithstanding what had passed, if the situation of affairs would allow it, he would still give them time to recede from an opinion too obstinately maintained. But as the exigences of war would not wait on the counsels of men, he would prefer the interest of the commonwealth to the regard of his associates; and if the senate continued in the same sentiments, he would, on the following night, nominate a dictator; and if any person protested¹ against the senate passing a decree, he would consider a vote of that body as sufficient authority.' By this conduct, having deservedly obtained the praises and continuance of all, after he had nominated Publius Cornelius dictator, he was

¹ Many circumstances might prevent the senate's passing a decree; in such cases the opinion of the majority was recorded, which might be referred to the people for confirmation.

himself appointed by him master of the horse, and afforded an example to such as observed his case; and that of his colleagues, that honors and public favor sometimes offer themselves the more readily to those who show no ambition for them. The war produced no memorable event. In one battle, and that gained without difficulty, the enemy were vanquished at Antium. The victorious army laid the lands of the Volscians intirely waste. Their fort at the lake Fucinus was taken by storm, and in it three thousand men made prisoners; the rest of the Volscians were driven into the towns, without making any attempt to defend the country. The dictator having conducted the war in such a manner as showed only that he was not negligent of fortune's favors, returned to the city with a greater share of success than of glory, and resigned his office. The military tribunes, without making any mention of an election of consuls, I suppose through pique for the appointment of a dictator, issued a proclamation for the choosing of military tribunes. The perplexity of the patricians became now greater than ever, when they saw their cause betrayed by men of their own order. In like manner therefore, as they had done the year before, they set up as candidates the most unworthy of the plebeians, thus creating a disgust against all of these, even the deserving; and then, by engaging those patricians who were most eminently distinguished by the splendor of their character, and by their interest, to stand forth as candidates, they secured every one of the places according to their wish. There were four military tribunes elected [A. U. C. 348. B. C. 404], all of whom had already served, Lucius Furius Medullinus, Caius Valerius Potitus, Numerius Fabius Vibulanus, and Caius Servilius Ahala: the last being continued in office by re-election, as well on account of his other deserts, as in consequence of the popularity which he had recently acquired by his singular moderation.

68. In that year, the term of the truce with the Veientian nation having expired, ambassadors and heralds

were employed to make a demand of satisfaction for injuries, who, on coming to the frontiers, were met by an embassy from the Veientians. These requested that the others would not proceed to Veii until they should first have access to the Roman senate. From the senate they obtained that, in consideration of the Veientians being distressed by intestine dissensions, satisfaction should not be demanded; so far were they from seeking in the troubles of others an occasion of advancing their own interests. In another quarter, and in the country of the Volscians, a disaster was felt in the garrison at Verrugo being lost. On which occasion so much depended on time, that though the troops besieged there by the Volscians had requested assistance, and might have been succored, if expedition had been used, the army sent to their relief came only in time to destroy the enemy, who, just after putting the garrison to the sword, were dispersed in search of plunder. This dilatoriness was not to be imputed to the tribunes, so much as to the senate; who, because they were told that a very vigorous resistance was made, never considered that there are certain limits to human strength, beyond which no degree of bravery can proceed. These very gallant soldiers, however, were not without revenge, both before and after their death. In the following year [A. U. C. 349. B. C. 403] Publius and Cneius Cornelius Cossus, Numerius Fabius Ambustus, and Lucius Valerius Potitus being military tribunes with consular power, war was commenced against the Veientians, in resentment of an insolent answer of their senate; who, when the ambassadors demanded satisfaction, ordered them to be told, that if they did not speedily quit the city, they would give them the satisfaction which Lars Tolumnius had given. The Roman senate being highly offended at this, decreed that the military tribunes should, as early as possible, propose to the people the proclaiming war against the Veientians. As soon as that proposal was made public, the young men openly expressed their discontent. The war 'with

the Volscians,' they said, 'was not yet at an end; it was not long since two garrisons were utterly destroyed, and one of the forts was with difficulty retained. Not a year passed in which they were not obliged to meet an enemy in the field, and, as if these fatigues were thought too trifling, a new war was now set on foot against a neighboring and most powerful nation, who would soon rouse all Etruria to arms.' These discontents, first suggested by themselves, were farther aggravated by the plebeian tribunes, who affirmed, that 'the war of greatest moment subsisting was that between the patricians and plebeians. That the latter were designedly harassed by military service, and exposed to the destructive weapons of enemies. They were kept at a distance from the city, and in a state of banishment, lest, should they enjoy rest at home, they might turn their thoughts towards liberty, and the establishment of colonies, and form plans, either for obtaining possession of the public lands, or asserting their right of giving their suffrages with freedom.' Then, taking hold of the veterans, they recounted the years which each of them had served, their wounds and scars, asking, 'where was there room on their bodies to receive new wounds? what quantity of blood had they remaining which could be shed for the commonwealth?' As they had by these insinuations and remarks, thrown out in public assemblies, rendered the commons averse from the war, the determination on the proposition was adjourned, because it was manifest, that if it came before them during the present ill humor, it would certainly be rejected.

59. It was resolved that, in the mean time, the military tribunes should lead an army into the territories of the Volscians. Cneius Cornelius alone was left at Rome. The three tribunes finding that the Volscians had not any where formed a camp, and that they were resolved not to hazard a battle, divided their forces into three parts, and set out towards different quarters to waste the enemy's country. Valerius directed his

march to Antium, Cornelius to Ecetra; and wherever they came they made extensive depredations both on the lands and houses, in order to separate the troops of the Volscians. Fabius marched without plundering, to attack Anxur, which was the principal object in view. Anxur is a city which we now call Tarracinæ, situated on a declivity adjoining a morass. On this side Fabius made a feint of attacking it, but sent round four cohorts under Caius Servilius Ahala, who, having seized on an eminence which commands the city, assailed the walls with great shouting and tumult, and where there was no guard to defend them. Those, who were employed in protecting the lower part of the city against Fabius, being stunned and in amazement at this tumult, gave him an opportunity of applying the scaling ladders. Every place was quickly filled with the Romans, and a dreadful slaughter continued a long time without distinction of those who fled and those who made resistance, of the armed or unarmed. The vanquished therefore were under the necessity of fighting, there being no hope for such as retired, until an order was suddenly proclaimed that no one should be injured except those who were in arms, which induced all the surviving multitude instantly to surrender. Of these, there were taken alive to the number of two thousand five hundred. Fabius would not suffer his soldiers to meddle with the spoil until his colleagues arrived, saying, that those armies had also a part in the taking of Anxur, who had diverted the other troops of the Volscians from the defence of the place. On their arrival, the three armies plundered the city, which a long course of prosperity had filled with opulence; and this liberality of the commanders first began to reconcile the commons to the patricians: which end was soon after promoted; for the principal nobility, with a generosity towards the multitude, the most seasonable that ever was shown, procured a decree of the senate, and before such a scheme could be mentioned by the tribunes or commons, that the soldiers should

receive pay out of the public treasury,¹ whereas hitherto every one had served at his own expense.

60. No measure, we are told, was ever received by the commons with such transports of joy: they ran in crowds to the senate-house, caught the hands of the senators as they came out, declaring that they were fathers in reality, and acknowledging that their conduct had been such, that every man, whilst he had any share of strength remaining, would risk his person and property in the cause of a country so liberal to its citizens. Whilst they were delighted with the comfortable prospect of their private substance, at all events resting unimpaired during such time as they should be consigned over to the commonwealth, and employed in its service, their joy received a manifold addition, and their gratitude was raised to a higher pitch, from the consideration that this had been a voluntary grant, having never been agitated by the tribunes, nor attempted to be gained by any requisitions of their own. The plebeian tribunes alone partook not of the general satisfaction and harmony diffused through every rank, but averred that 'this would not prove such matter of joy, nor so honorable to the patricians as they themselves imagined. That the plan appeared better on the first view than it would prove on experience: for how could that money be procured unless by imposing a tax on the people? They were generous to some, therefore, at others' expense. Besides, even though this should be borne, those who had served out their time in the army would never endure that their successors should be retained on better terms than they themselves had been; and that they should bear the expense first of their own service and then of that of others.' These arguments had an effect on great num-

¹ The foot soldiers only. The horse did not receive pay until three years after. The pay of a foot soldier, in the time of the second Punic war, was three asses, too small, if they had not received an allowance of corn, and sometimes of clothes.

bers of the commons. At last, on the publication of the decree for levying the tax, the tribunes went so far, as, on their part, to give public notice that they would give protection to any person who should refuse his proportion of the tax for payment to the soldiers. The patricians persisted in support of a matter so happily begun. They first of all paid in their own assessment; and there being no silver coined at that time, some of them conveying their weighed brass to the treasury in waggons, gave a pompous appearance to their payments. This being done by the senate with the strictest punctuality, and according to their rated properties, the principal plebeians, connected in friendship with the nobility, in pursuance of a plan laid down, began to pay; and, when the populace saw these highly commended by the patricians, and also respected as good citizens by those of military age, scorning the support of the tribunes, they began at once to vie with each other in paying the tax. The law being then passed for declaring war against the Veientians, a numerous army, composed chiefly of volunteers, followed the new military tribunes, with consular power, to Veii.

61. These tribunes were Titus Quinctius Capitolinus, Publius Quintius Cincinnatus, Caius Julius Iulus a second time, Aulus Manlius, Lucius Furius Medullinus a second time, and Manius Æmilius Mamercinus. [A. U. C. 350. B. C. 402.] By these Veii was first invested. A little before this siege began, a full meeting of the Etrurians being held at the temple of Voltumna, the question whether the Veientians should be supported by the joint concurrence of the whole confederacy, was left undecided. During the following year the siege was prosecuted with less vigor, because some of the tribunes and their troops were called away to oppose the Volscians. The military tribunes, with consular power, of this year were, Caius Valerius Potitus a third time, Manius Sergius Fidenas, Publius Cornelius Maluginensis, Cneius Cornelius Cossus, Cæso Fabius Ambustus, Spurius Nautius Rutilus a second

time. [A. U. C. 351. B. C. 401.] A pitched battle was fought with the Volscians, between Ferentinum and Ectra, in which the Romans had the advantage. Siege was then laid by the tribunes to Artena, a town of the Volscians. After some time, the enemy having attempted a sally, and being driven back into the town, the besiegers got an opportunity of forcing their way in, and made themselves masters of every place except the citadel. This fortress was naturally very strong, and a body of armed men had thrown themselves into it. Under its walls great numbers were slain and made prisoners. The citadel was then besieged, but it neither could be taken by storm, because it had a garrison sufficient for the size of the place, nor did it afford any hope of a surrender, because, before the city was taken, all the public stores of corn had been conveyed thither; so that the Romans would have grown weary of the attempt, and retired, had not the fortress been betrayed to them by a slave. He gave admittance through a place of difficult access to some soldiers, who made themselves masters of it; and while they were employed in killing the guards, the rest of the multitude, losing all courage at the sight of this unexpected attack, laid down their arms. After demolishing both the citadel and city of Artena, the legions were led back from the country of the Volscians, and the whole power of Rome turned against Veii. The traitor received as a reward, besides his liberty, the property of two families, and was called Servius Romanus. Some are of opinion that Artena belonged to the Veientians, not to the Volscians: a mistake occasioned by there having been once a town of that name between Cære and Veii. But that town the Roman kings demolished; it was the property of the Cærilians, not of the Veientians; this other of the same name, the destruction of which we have related, was in the country of the Volscians.

BOOK V.

CHAP. 1. PEACE now subsisted in all other quarters; [A. U. C. 352. B. C. 400] but the Romans and Veientians were still in arms, and displayed such violent rancor and animosity as made it evident that utter destruction would be the fate of the party vanquished. The election of magistrates in the two states was conducted in very different methods. The Romans augmented the number of their military tribunes with consular power, electing eight, a number greater than had hitherto been known. These were Manius Æmilius Mamerцинus a second time, Lucius Valerius Potitus a third time, Appius Claudius Crassus, Marcus Quintilius Varus, Lucius Julius Iulus, Marcus Postumius, Marcus Furius Camillus, Marcus Postumius Albinus. The Veientians, on the other hand, disgusted at the annual intrigues of candidates, which were sometimes the cause of violent dissensions, elected a king. This step gave great offence to all the states of Etruria, as, besides their abhorrence of kingly government, they held the person elected in no less detestation. He, out of the insolence of wealth, and the arrogance of his temper, had, before this, rendered himself obnoxious to the nation, by violently breaking off the performance of certain annual games, the omission of which was deemed an impiety: for, instigated by pique, because another candidate for the office of priest had been preferred before him, by the suffrages of the twelve states, in the middle of the solemnity, he abruptly carried away the performers, of whom a great part were his slaves. That nation, therefore, devoted beyond all others to religious performances, the more so because they excelled in the conduct of them, passed a decree by which all aid was refused to the Veientians, so long as they should continue under the government of a king. At Veii, all mention of this decree was suppressed by people's dread of the king, who would have treated any

person, reported to have mentioned such a matter, as a leader of sedition, not as the author of an idle rumor. Although the Romans received intelligence that all was quiet in Etruria, yet, being also informed that this business was again agitated in every one of their meetings, they formed and strengthened their fortifications in such a manner as gave them security on both sides. Some they raised on the part next the town, against the irruptions of the townsmen; others on the side opposite Etruria, so as to guard against any auxiliaries which might come from thence.

2. The Roman generals, conceiving greater hopes from a blockade than from an assault, resolved to carry on their operations during the whole winter; and accordingly they began to erect huts, a proceeding quite new to Roman soldiers. As soon as an account of this was brought to the plebeian tribunes, who for a long time past found no pretext for starting new disturbances, they flew out to meet the people in assembly, and labored to inflame the minds of the commons, asserting that 'this was the purpose for which pay for the soldiery had been established; nor had they been so blind, as not to see that such a present from their enemies was tainted with poison. That the liberty of the commons had been sold; their young men carried away without hope of return, exposed to the severity of winter, excluded from their houses and family affairs. What did they suppose was the reason for keeping the troops on duty without intermission? They would find it, in fact, to be no other than the apprehension lest, in case of the attendance of those youths, in whom the whole strength of the commons consisted, some steps might be taken towards promoting their interests. Besides, the men were more harassed, and subjected to greater hardships than the Veientians; for the latter passed the winter under their own roofs, having their city secured by strong walls, and its natural situation; while the Roman soldiers, in the midst of labor and toils, lay perishing in tents, overwhelmed by snow and frost; never laying their arms out of their hands even

in that severe season, which had ever given a respite to all wars either on land or sea. Neither kings nor consuls, overbearing as they were, before the institution of the tribunitian office, nor the stern government of a dictator, nor the arbitrary decemvirs, ever imposed such a pain as this of unremitting military service. Yet military tribunes assumed that degree of kingly power over the commons of Rome. What would have been the behavior of those men, in the office of consul or dictator, who have exhibited a picture of proconsular power in colors of such harshness and cruelty? but this was no worse than what the people deserved. Among eight military tribunes, they did not give room to one plebeian. Till of late, the patricians used to find the utmost difficulty in filling up three places; but now they march in files, eight deep, to take possession of the posts of government; and even in such a crowd, no plebeian is found intermixed, who, if he served no other purpose, might remind his colleagues that the army was composed not of slaves but of free-men; of citizens who ought to be brought home, at least in winter, to their habitations, and the comforts of their own roofs, and allowed, at some time of the year, to visit their parents, children, and wives; to exercise the rights of Romans, and to take a part in the election of magistrates.' While they exclaimed in these, and such like terms, they were not unequally matched in an opponent, Appius Claudius, who had been left at home by his colleagues, for the purpose of repressing the turbulent schemes of the tribunes; a man trained from his youth in contentions with the plebeians; who, some years before, had recommended, as has been mentioned, the disuniting the power of the tribunes by the protests of their colleagues.

3. Endowed by nature with good abilities, and possessed also of experience, from long practice, he spoke on this occasion in the following manner: 'If it ever was a matter of doubt, citizens, whether the motives which led the plebeian tribunes to foment sedition, on every occasion, regarded your interests or their own, I

am confident that, in the course of this year, every such doubt must have vanished ; and while I rejoice at your being at length undeceived in respect of a mistake of long continuance, I cannot at the same time refrain from congratulating you, and on your account the commonwealth, that the delusion has been removed by a train of prosperous events, rather than by any other means. Is there a person living, who is not convinced that the plebeian tribunes were never so highly displeased and provoked by any instance of the ill treatment felt by you, if any such ever really existed, as by the generosity of the patricians towards the commons, in establishing pay for the army? What other event do you think they either dreaded then with so much anxiety, or wish so ardently at present to obviate, as a union between the orders, which in their opinion would prove the subversion of the tribunitian power? Thus, in fact, as laborers in the field of iniquity, they are at a loss for employment, and even wish that there may be always some diseased part in the commonwealth, for the cure of which they may be employed by you : for whether tribunes, are you at present defending the commons, or making an attack on them? Whether are you adversaries of the soldiery, or patrons of their cause? Perhaps you will say thus, whatever the patricians do, we disapprove, whether it be favorable or prejudicial to the commons ; and, just as masters forbid their slaves to have any dealings with those belonging to others, and think proper to cut off the commerce between them either of kindness or unkindness, you, in like manner, interdict us, the patricians, from all intercourse with the commons ; lest by our civility and generosity we should challenge their regard, and they become obedient and willing to be directed as we might see best. Would it not much better become you, if you had any of the sentiments or feelings, I say not of fellow-citizens, but of human beings, rather to favor, and, as far as in your power, to cherish this kindness of the patricians, and the tractable disposition of the commons? Were such harmony once established on a

permanent footing, who is there that would not venture to engage that this empire would soon arrive at a height of grandeur far beyond all the neighboring states?

4. 'I shall hereafter explain to you, not only the expediency, but the necessity of the plan adopted by my colleagues of not drawing off the troops at Veii until the business shall be completed. At present I choose to confine my observations to the state of the soldiery; and if what I shall say on that head were to be spoken, not only before you, but also in the camp, I am persuaded that it would appear reasonable to the army themselves. Indeed if my own understanding were incapable of suggesting any arguments on the subject, I might be well content with those which have been thrown out in the discourses of our adversaries. They lately insisted that pay ought not to be given to the soldiers, because it had never been given before. On what grounds therefore can they now be displeased, if persons who have received an addition of profit, beyond what was usual, are enjoined to perform some additional labor proportioned thereto? In no case is labor to be procured without emolument, nor emolument in general, without the expense of labor. Toil and pleasure, in their natures opposite, are yet linked together in a kind of necessary connexion. Formerly the soldier deemed it a hardship to give up his labor to the commonwealth, and to bear his own expenses. At the same time he found pleasure in having it in his power, for a part of the year, to till his own ground, and to acquire the means of supporting himself and his family at home and in the field. At present he has a source of pleasure in the profits set apart for him by the commonwealth, and he no doubt receives his pay with joy. Let him therefore bear with resignation the being detained a little longer from his home and from his family affairs, which are not now burdened with his expenses. Suppose the commonwealth called him to a statement of accounts, might it not justly say, you receive pay by the year, give me your labor by the

year? Do you think it just, that for half a year's service, you should receive a whole year's pay? It is disagreeable to me, Romans, to dwell on this topic; for this kind of proceeding suits only those who employ mercenary soldiers; but we wish to deal, as with our fellow-citizens. Either then the war ought not to have been undertaken, or it ought to be conducted in a manner suited to the dignity of the Roman people, and to be brought to a conclusion as soon as possible. Now it will certainly be brought to a conclusion, if we press forward the siege; if we do not retire until we have attained the object of our hopes in the capture of Veii. In truth, if there were no other motive, the very discredit of acting otherwise ought to urge us to perseverance. In former times a city was held besieged for ten years on account of one woman, by the united force of all the Greeks. At what a distance from their homes! What tracts of land and sea lying between! Yet we grumble at the fatigue of a siege of one year's continuance, within less than twenty miles of us, almost within sight of our city; because, I suppose, the ground of our quarrel is not sufficiently just to stimulate us to persevere. This is the seventh time that the people have rebelled. During peace, they were never faithful to their engagements. They have laid waste our territories a thousand times. They have compelled the Fidenatians to revolt from us; have put to death our colonists in that district; and have been the instigators of the impious murder of our ambassadors, in violation of the laws of nations: they have endeavored, in short, to stir up all Etruria against us; and at this day are busy in the same attempt: and scarcely did they refrain from offering violence to our ambassadors who demanded satisfaction. Against such people, ought war to be waged in a remiss and dilatory manner?

5. 'If such just causes of resentment have no weight with us, have, I beseech you, the following considerations none? The city has been inclosed with immense works, by which the enemy are confined within their

walls. Of late they have not tilled their lands ; and what were cultivated before have been laid waste in the course of the war. If we withdraw our army, who can doubt that not only through desire of revenge, but even through the necessity imposed on them of plundering the property of others, since they have lost their own, they will make an invasion on our territories ? By such conduct therefore we should not defer the war, but open it a passage into our⁴own frontiers. What shall we say, as to the circumstances immediately affecting the soldiers, of whose interests your worthy tribunes have, all on a sudden, grown so careful, after having attempted to wrest their pay out of their hands ? How do they stand ? They have formed a rampart and a trench, both works of immense labor, through so great an extent of ground : they have erected forts, at first only a few, afterwards a great number, when the army was augmented ; and they have raised defences, not only on the side next to the city, but also opposite Etruria, against any succors which should arrive from thence. Why need I mention towers, covered approaches, and the like ; together with all the various machines used in attacking towns ? Now that such a quantity of labor has been expended, and that they have just come to the finishing of the work, do you think it would be prudent to abandon all these preparations, that the next summer they may be obliged to undergo again the same course of toil and labor in forming them anew ? How much less difficult would it be to support the works already formed, to press forward, to persevere, and thus at once to be set at rest ? The business might soon be accomplished by a uniform course of exertions ; for it is certain, that by thus interrupting and suspending all proceedings, we absolutely hinder the attainment of our own hopes. What I have said regards only the labor and the loss of time. But let me ask farther, can we disregard the danger which we incur by procrastination, while we see so frequent meetings held by the Etrurians on the subject of sending aid to Veii ? As matters stand at present, they are displeased and angry with that peo-

ple ; declare that they will not send them aid ; and for any concern which they take in the affair we are at liberty to take Veii. But who can promise that if we suspend our operations they will be in the same temper hereafter ? for if you allow any relaxation, more respectable and more frequent embassies will be despatched ; and the very circumstance which now disgusts the Etrurians, the establishment of a king at Veii, may, in the interim, be done away, either by the joint determination of the several members of the state, for the sake of recovering the friendship of Etruria, or by a voluntary act of the king himself, who may be unwilling to continue on the throne when he finds it an obstruction to the welfare of his countrymen. See now how many consequences, and how detrimental, attend that method of proceeding ; the loss of works formed with so great labor ; the consequent devastation of our frontiers ; and, instead of the Veientians, the whole nation of Etruria united against us. These, tribunes, are your plans, much indeed of the same kind as if, in the case of a sick person, who by submitting to a regimen with resolution, might quickly recover his health, should render his disorder tedious, and perhaps incurable, for the sake of the present pleasure which eating and drinking would afford him.

6. ' I insist that though it were of no consequence, with respect to the present war, yet it is certainly of the utmost importance to military discipline, that our soldiers be accustomed, not only to enjoy the fruits of victory, but should the business prove tedious, to endure the irksomeness of delay ; to wait the issue of their hopes, though tardy ; and, if the summer did not finish the war, to try what the winter might produce ; and not, like birds of spring, to look about for hiding places and shelter the moment autumn arrived. Consider, I beseech you, how the pleasure of hunting and eagerness in the chase hurry men through woods and over mountains, in the midst of frost and snow ; and shall we not bestow on the necessary exigences of war the same degree of patience, which is usually called forth even by sport and amusement ? Do we suppose

the bodies of our soldiers so effeminate, their minds so feeble, that they cannot for one winter endure the fatigue of a camp and absence from home? That, like those who carry on war by sea, they must regulate their operations by taking advantage of the weather, and observing the seasons of the year? That they are incapable of enduring either heat or cold? I am convinced they would blush, if such things were laid to their charge, and would maintain that both their minds and bodies were possessed of manly firmness: that they were able to perform the duties of war as well in winter as in summer: that they never had commissioned the tribunes to patronise sloth and effeminacy; and remembered very well, that it was not under their own roofs nor in the shade that their ancestors established the tribuneship. Such sentiments are worthy of the valor of soldiers, such are worthy of the Roman name; not to consider merely the city of Veii, nor the present war in which you are employed, but to seek a reputation which may last during other wars, and among all other nations. Do you look on the difference between the characters which will be applied to you, according to your conduct in this affair, as a matter of trivial importance? Whether the neighboring nations deem the Romans to be soldiers of such a kind, that any town which can withstand their first assault, and that of very short continuance, has nothing farther to apprehend; or, whether our name be terrible on this account, that neither the fatigue of a tedious siege, nor the severity of winter, can remove a Roman army from a place which it has once invested; that it knows no other termination of war than victory; and that its operations are not more distinguished by briskness of action than by steady perseverance? a qualification which, as it is highly requisite in every kind of military service, is most particularly so in carrying on sieges of towns; because these being generally, from the nature of their situation, and the strength of their works, impregnable by assault, time alone overpowers and reduces them by means of hunger and thirst, as it

will certainly reduce Veii, unless the tribunes of the commons supply aid to the enemy, and the Veientians find in Rome that support which they seek in vain in Etruria. Could any other event so fully accord to the wishes of the Veientians as that the city of Rome first, and then, by the spreading of the contagion, the camp, should be filled with sedition? But now, among the enemy, such a temperate disposition prevails, that neither through disgust at the length of the siege, nor even at the establishment of kingly government, has one change of measures been attempted; nor has the refusal of aid from the Etrurians soured their temper; because, if any one there proposes seditious measures, he will be instantly put to death; nor will any person be suffered to utter such things as are uttered among you without any fear of punishment. He deserves the bastinado who forsakes his colors, or quits his post: yet men are heard, openly in public assembly, recommending, not to one or two particular soldiers, but to whole armies, to leave their colors and desert their camp. With such partiality are you accustomed to listen to whatever a plebeian tribune advances, although it manifestly tends to the ruin of your country, and the dissolution of the commonwealth; and so captivated are you by the charms of that office, that, under the shelter of it, you suffer every kind of wickedness to lurk unnoticed. They have but one step farther to take to engage the soldiers in camp in the same measures which they urge here with so much clamor, to debauch the troops, and allow them no longer to obey their officers, since liberty, according to the present notion of it at Rome, consists in casting off all reverence for the senate, for the magistrates, for the laws, for the practices of our ancestors, for the institutions of our fathers, and for military discipline.'

7. Appius was now fully equal to a contention with the plebeian tribunes, even in the assemblies of the people, when a misfortune suffered before Veii, by an effect which no one could have expected, threw the su-

periority at once on his side, and produced both an unusual harmony between the orders of the state, and a general ardor to push on the siege of Veii with greater vigor: for when the trenches had been advanced almost to the very town, and the machines were just ready to be applied to the walls, the troops, employing greater assiduity in forming their works by day, than in guarding them by night, one of the gates was thrown open on a sudden, and a vast multitude, armed chiefly with torches, sallied forth, and set fire to them on all sides; so that the flames destroyed in an instant both the rampart and the machines, the construction of which had cost so much time; and great numbers of men, attempting in vain to save them, perished by fire and the sword. When news of this disaster arrived at Rome, it diffused a general sadness through all ranks of men, and filled the senate also with anxiety and strong apprehensions lest they should find it impossible to withstand any longer the machinations of the seditious, either in the city or the camp, and lest the tribunes of the commons should insult over the commonwealth, as if it lay vanquished at their feet. At this juncture, those persons who possessed equestrian fortunes, and had not horses assigned them by the public, after previously consulting together, went in a body to the senate, and having obtained permission to speak, declared their resolution to serve in the army on horses provided at their own expense. On which the senate returning them thanks in the most honorable terms, and the report of this proceeding having spread through the forum, and all parts of the city, there immediately ensued a general concourse of the commons to the senate-house, where they declared that 'they were now the infantry of that army; and that, though it was not their turn to serve, yet they freely engaged in the cause of the commonwealth, whether it should be thought proper to lead them to Veii, or to any other place. If they should be led to Veii,' they affirmed, 'that they would never return from thence until that city should

be taken from the enemy.' The senate now scarce set any bounds to the torrent of joy which flowed in on them; for they did not, as in the case of the horsemen, pass an order for thanks to be conveyed by the magistrates, neither were the people called into the senate-house to receive an answer; nor did the senators confine themselves within their house; but, from the eminence adjoining, every one of them eagerly, with voice and hands, testified the public satisfaction to the multitude who stood below in the assembly; declared that, by such unanimity, the city of Rome was rendered happy, invincible, and everlasting; praised the horsemen, praised the commons; blessed even the day, as a day of happiness, and acknowledged that the courtesy and kindness of the patricians were now outdone, while, through excess of joy, tears flowed in abundance, both from the patricians and commons; until the senators, being called back into their house, passed a decree, that 'the military tribunes, summoning an assembly, should give thanks to the infantry and to the horsemen, and should assure them that the senate would keep in remembrance the dutiful affection which they had shown towards their country; and had come to a resolution that every one of those who had, out of turn, voluntarily undertaken the service should enjoy rank and pay from that date.' A certain stipend was also assigned to the horsemen. This was the first instance of the cavalry serving on their own horses. This army of volunteers, being led to Veii, not only restored the works which had been destroyed, but erected new ones. Greater care than ever was used in sending them supplies from the city, that no kind of accommodation should be wanting to troops who merited so highly.

8. The ensuing year [A. U. C. 353. B. C. 399] had military tribunes with consular power, Caius Servilius Ahala a third time, Quintus Servilius, Lucius Virginius, Quintus Sulpicius, Aulus Manlius a second time, Manius Sergius a second time. In their tribunate, whilst all men's attention was directed to the Veien-

tian war, the security of the garrison at Anxur was neglected, the soldiers obtaining leave of absence, and the Volscian traders being freely admitted: the consequence of which was that the guards at the gates were suddenly overpowered, and the place taken by surprise. The number of soldiers slain was the less, because, except the sick, they were all employed like suttlers, in trafficking about the country and the neighboring cities. Nor did better success attend the operations before Veii, which were then the grand object which engrossed all the public solicitude: for the Roman commanders showed a stronger disposition to quarrel among themselves than to act with spirit against the enemy. Besides, the power of their adversaries received an addition by the unexpected arrival of the Capenatians and Faliscians. These two states of Etruria, contiguous in situation to Veii, judged that should that city be conquered they should be the next exposed to the attacks of the Romans. The Faliscians were farther induced, by a reason particularly affecting themselves, to enter into the quarrel, as having been formerly a party in the war of the Fidenatians: wherefore, after having by reciprocal embassies ratified their engagements with an oath, they advanced with their forces to Veii, at a moment when no one thought of their coming. They happened to attack the camp on that quarter where Manius Sergius, military tribune, commanded, which caused a violent alarm; for the Romans imagined that all Etruria had been set in motion, and had come out in a mass against them. The same opinion roused to action the Veientians in the city. Thus the camp was attacked on both sides; and the troops, in opposing the attempts of the enemy, being obliged to wheel round their battalions from one post to another, could neither effectually confine the Veientians within their fortifications, nor repel the assault from their own works, nor even defend themselves on the outer side. Their only hope was that they might be reinforced from the greater camp, and then the several different

legions would support the different parts of the fight, some against the Capenatians and Faliscians, others against the sallies from the town. But that camp was commanded by Virginius, between whom and Sergius there subsisted a personal hatred: on being informed that most of the forts were attacked, the fortifications scaled, and that the enemy poured in on both sides, he kept his men within his own works under arms, saying, that if there were need of a reinforcement his colleague would send to him. His arrogance was equalled by the obstinacy of the other, who, rather than appear to have asked any assistance from a person with whom he was at variance, chose to be conquered by the enemy. His troops, inclosed on either side, suffered great slaughter for a long time; at last, abandoning the works, a very small part of them made their way to the principal camp; the greater number, with Sergius himself, proceeded to Rome; here, as he threw the intire blame on his colleague, it was determined that Virginius should be called home, and that in the mean time the lieutenant-generals should hold the command. The affair was taken into consideration by the senate, where the dispute between the colleagues was carried on with mutual recriminations. Few of the members regarded the interests of the commonwealth, each adhered to one or the other, just as he happened to be prejudiced by private regard or interest.

9. The principal senators were of opinion that whether the misconduct, or the misfortune of the commanders had been the cause of such an ignominious overthrow, they ought not to wait for the regular time of election, but to create immediately new military tribunes, who should enter into office on the calends of October. While the members were proceeding to show their assent to this opinion the other military tribunes offered no objection; but Sergius and Virginius, to whose behavior it was evidently owing that men wished to get rid of the magistrates of that year, at first deprecated the ignominy which would hereby

be thrown on them, and afterwards protested against the passing of the decree, and declared that they would not retire from office before the ides of December, the usual day for others entering into office. On this the tribunes of the commons, who, during the general harmony and the prosperity of public affairs, had unwillingly kept silence, at once assuming confidence, threatened the military tribunes, that, unless they submitted to the direction of the senate, they would order them to be carried to prison. Then Caius Servilius Ahala, one of the military tribunes, said, 'As to your part, tribunes of the people, I assure you I would with great pleasure put it to the proof, whether your threats are more destitute of authority, or yourselves of spirit. But I consider it as impious to act in opposition to the will of the senate; wherefore on the one hand, I desire that you may desist from seeking in our disputes for an opportunity of doing mischief; and on the other hand, either my colleagues shall act according to the order of the senate, or if they persist any farther in opposition, I will instantly nominate a dictator, who will compel them to retire from office.' This discourse being received with universal approbation, and the senators rejoicing that another power had been thought of, which by its superior authority might reduce the magistrates to order, without the terrors of the tribunitian office, those magistrates yielded to the universal desire of the public, and held an election of military tribunes, who were to enter into office on the calends of October; and before that day they divested themselves of the magistracy.

10. [A. U. C. 354. B. C. 398.] This military tribunate with consular power, of Lucius Valerius Potitus a fourth time, Marcus Furius Camillus a second, Manius Æmilius Mamercinus a third, Cneius Cornelius Cossus a second, Cæso Fabius Ambustus, and Lucius Julius Iulus, was occupied by a multiplicity of business both civil and military: for the operations of war were to be carried on in many different places at once, at Veii, and at Capena; at Falerii, and among the

Volscians for the recovery of Anxur. Then at Rome there was great uneasiness occasioned by the levying of troops, and at the same time by the paying in of the tax. There was also a struggle about the appointment of the plebeian tribunes; while the trial of two of those, who had lately been invested with consular power, excited no trifling disturbance. The military tribunes applied themselves, first of all, to the raising of troops, and not only the younger men were enlisted, but the elder citizens also were compelled to give in their names to serve as a garrison to the city. Now, in proportion as the number of soldiers was augmented, so much the more money became necessary for their pay, and this was made up by a tax which was very unwillingly paid by those who remained at home, because as the guard of the city lay on them, they must also perform military duty, and give their labor to the public. These circumstances, grievous in themselves, were set forth in more provoking terms in the seditious harangues of the plebeian tribunes, who insisted that 'the establishment of pay to the soldiers was intended for the purpose of ruining one half of the commons by the fatigues of war, and the other half by a tax. That one war had now been protracted to the fifth year; and was conducted without success designedly, in order that it might afford them the longer employment. Besides, armies had been enlisted at one levy for four different expeditions, and even boys and old men dragged from their homes. That no distinction was made between summer and winter, lest any respite should be allowed to the wretched commons; who now, as the finishing stroke, had been made subject to a tax; so that when they should return with their bodies wasted through toils, wounds, and even age, and find every thing at home in disorder from the long absence of the owners, would at the same time be obliged, out of their ruined property, to refund in a manifold proportion to the state the money which they had received as pay, as if it had been taken up at usurious interest.' Between the levy and

the tax, and from men's thoughts being occupied by more important concerns, the number of plebeian tribunes could not be filled up on the day of election. A violent effort was afterwards made to have patricians assumed into the vacant places, but that being found impracticable; another plan was adopted for the purpose of weakening at least the authority of the Trebonian law, by the assumption of Caius Lacerius and Marcus Acutius as plebeian tribunes; and this was effected evidently by the influence of the patricians.

11. It so happened that this year Caius Trebonius was a plebeian tribune; and he considered it as a duty incumbent on his name and family to patronise the Trebonian law. He therefore complained loudly that 'a measure which had been attempted by some patricians, and in which they were baffled at their first setting out, had been violently carried by the military tribunes:—that the Trebonian law had been subverted, and plebeian tribunes elected, not in conformity to the suffrage of the people, but to the mandate of the patricians:—that the matter was brought to this issue, that people must be content to see the office of plebeian tribune filled either by patricians or their dependants:—that all the advantages of the devoting laws were wrested from them, and the tribunitian power forcibly transferred to other hands. And he insisted that this must have been effected, either by some artifices of the patricians, or by the villany and treachery of his colleagues.' The public being inflamed with a high degree of resentment not only against the patricians, but the tribunes of the people also, as well those who had been elected, as those who had elected them, three of that body, Publius Curatius, Marcus Metilius; and Marcus Minucius, greatly alarmed for their own interests, made an attack on Sergius and Virginus, military tribunes of the former year, and by a prosecution which they commenced, turned off on them the anger of the commons, and the resentment of the public. They

desired people to 'take notice, that such as felt themselves aggrieved by the levy, by the tax, by long service in the army, and the distance of the seat of war; such as lamented the loss sustained at Veii; such as had their houses in mourning for the loss of children, brethren, kinsmen, and relations; all these had now, by their means, both the right and the power afforded them of avenging the public and private calamities on the two persons who were the guilty causes of them. For to Sergius and Virginus were owing,' they asserted, 'all their misfortunes. And that was not more fully evinced by the charge of the prosecutor, than by the acknowledgement of the defendants; who being equally conscious of crime, each imputed it to the other; Virginus charging Sergius with cowardice; Sergius, Virginus with treachery. The absurdity of whose conduct was so great, that there was a high degree of probability that the whole affair had been transacted by concert, and according to a wicked design of the patricians; who, for the purpose of protracting the war, first gave the Veientians an opportunity to burn the works, and now had delivered up an army to the sword of the enemy, and surrendered a Roman camp to the Faliscians. The management of all affairs was directed to one end, that the young men should grow old before Veii; and that the tribunes should be thereby deprived of the power of taking the sense of the people, either concerning the lands, or any other advantages of the commons: of having their plans supported by a numerous attendance of citizens, or of making head against the conspiracy of the patricians. That the cause of the defendants had been already prejudged by the senate, by the Roman people, and by their own colleagues: for, by a decree of the senate, they had been removed from the administration of government, and, refusing to resign their office, had been constrained to submit by their colleagues, who threatened them with a dictator; and that the Roman people had elected tribunes, who were to assume the government, not on the usual day, the

ides of December, but instantly on the calends of October; because the continuance of the former in office was incompatible with the safety of the commonwealth. Yet, after all this, those men, censured and overwhelmed by so many decisions against them, presented themselves for trial before the people, and imagined that they were discharged, and had undergone sufficient punishment, because they had been reduced to the rank of private citizens two months sooner than ordinary; never considering that this was only taking out of their hands the power of doing farther mischief, not inflicting punishment; their colleagues, who were manifestly clear of all share of the blame, being deprived of authority as well as themselves. They requested that the citizens of Rome would resume the same sentiments which they had felt when the disastrous event was recent, when they beheld the army flying in consternation, covered with wounds, and filled with dismay; pouring into the gates, accusing not fortune, nor any of the gods, but these their comrades. They were confident that there was not a man present in the assembly who did not, on that day, utter execrations and curses against the persons, the families, and fortunes of Lucius Virginus and Marcus Sergius. And it would be the highest inconsistency if they did not now, when it was not only lawful but their duty, exert their own power against those on whom each of them had imprecated the vengeance of the gods. The gods themselves never laid their hands on the guilty, it was enough if they armed the injured with power to take revenge.'

12. Instigated by such discourse, the commons condemned the accused in a fine of ten thousand asses in weight;¹ while Sergius in vain alleged that the miscarriage was to be imputed to fortune and the common chance of war: and Virginus made earnest supplications that they would not render him more unfortunate at home than he had been in the field. The current of

¹ 32l. 5s. 10d.

popular resentment having been thus turned against them, almost obliterated the remembrance of the assumption of tribunes, and the fraudulent infraction of the Trebonian law. The victorious tribunes, in order that the commons might reap an immediate advantage from their effort, published a proposal of an agrarian law, and forbade the tax to be paid, since pay was required for such a number of troops, while the success of their arms in any of the wars had been no more than sufficed to keep their hopes in suspense. At Veii, the camp which had been lost was recovered, and strengthened with forts and a garrison. Here Marcus Æmilius and Cæso Fabius, military tribunes, commanded. Marcus Furius in the territory of the Faliscians, and Cneius Cornelius in that of the Capenatians, meeting with none of the enemy in the field, drove off the spoil and ravaged the country, burning all the houses and the fruits of the earth. The towns they neither assaulted nor besieged. But in the country of the Volscians, after the lands had been wasted, Anxur was assaulted, though without success. Being seated on a lofty eminence, and force being found ineffectual, it was determined to surround it with a rampart and trench. This province of the Volscians had fallen to Valerius Potitus. While the business of the campaign was in this state a sedition burst out at home, with more formidable violence than appeared in the operations against the enemy. And as the tribunes would not suffer the tax to be paid, and consequently no remittances were made to the generals for the payment of the troops, and as the soldiers clamorously demanded their due, there was the greatest danger that the contagion of sedition might spread from the city, and the camp also be involved in the confusion. Though the commons were so much incensed against the patricians, and though the plebeian tribunes asserted that the time was now come for establishing liberty, and transferring the supreme dignity from such as Sergius and Virginius to men of plebeian rank, men of fortitude and industry, yet they proceeded no farther in gratification of their passion than the

election of one plebeian, Publius Licinius Calvus, [A. U. C. 355. B. C. 397] to the office of military tribune with consular power, for the purpose of establishing their right by a precedent. The others elected were patricians, Publius Mænius, Lucius Titinius, Publius Mælius, Lucius Furius Medullinus, and Lucius Publius Volscus. The commons themselves were surprised at having carried such an important point, no less than the man himself who had been elected, a person who had no post of honor before, although a senator of long standing, and now far advanced in years. Nor does it sufficiently appear why he was chosen in preference to others to taste the first sweets of this new dignity. Some are of opinion that he was appointed to so high a station by the influence of his brother Cneius Cornelius, who had been military tribune the preceding year, and had given triple pay to the cavalry. Others, that it was owing to a seasonable discourse made by himself, recommending harmony between the orders of the state, which was equally acceptable to the patricians and plebeians. The plebeian tribunes, filled with exultation by this victory in the election, remitted their opposition with respect to the tax, which was the principal obstruction to the public business. It was then paid in without murmuring, and sent to the army.

13. In the country of the Volscians, Anxur was quietly retaken, through the neglect of the guards on a festival day. This year was remarkable for a cold winter and great fall of snow, so that the roads were impassable, and the navigation of the Tiber shut up. There was no change in the price of provisions, considerable stores having been previously collected. As Publius Licinius had obtained his office without any riotous proceeding, to the great joy of the commons, and the no less mortification of the patricians, so the same regularity was preserved through the whole course of his administration. Hence the people became enraptured with the thoughts of choosing plebeians at the next election of military tribunes. [A. U. C. 356. B. C. 396.] Of the patrician candidates, Marcus Veturius

alone carried his election. The centuries almost unanimously appointed the following plebeians military tribunes with consular power: Marcus Pomponius, Caius Duillius, Volero Publilius, Cneius Genucius, and Lucius Atilius. The severe winter, whether from the ill temperature of the air occasioned by the sudden transition from one extreme to the other, or from some other cause, was succeeded by a sickly summer, fatal to all kinds of animals; and as neither the beginning nor end of the virulence of the disorder could be discovered, the Sibylline books were consulted, in pursuance of a decree of the senate. The decemvirs who had the direction of religious matters then first introduced the *lecti-sternium*¹ in the city of Rome, and decking out three couches with the utmost magnificence which those times could afford, implored thus the favor of Apollo, Latona, and Diana; and of Hercules, Mercury and Neptune, for the space of eight days. The same solemn rites were performed by private persons. We are told that the doors were thrown open in every part of the city; that every thing was exposed in public to be used in common; that passengers, whether known or unknown, were universally invited to lodgings; and even that people at variance refraining from animosity and ill language, conversed together with complaisance and kindness. During those days too, such as were in confinement were set at liberty; and that afterwards people were deterred, by a religious scruple, from imprisoning those persons to whom the gods had brought such deliverance. Meanwhile dangers multiplied at Veii, to which point the operations of three different wars were centred; for the Capenatians and Faliscians coming up unexpectedly to the relief of the town, the troops were obliged in the same manner as

¹ From *lectus*, a bed, or rather a couch, and *sterno*, to spread. On couches of this kind the Romans reclined at their meals, but especially at entertainments. On this occasion these couches were brought out into the streets, and being decorated in the most magnificent manner, the statues of the gods and goddesses were laid thereon, and sumptuous banquets placed before them. Of these repasts all comers were allowed to partake.

formerly, to make head against three different armies, on different sides, through the whole extent of their works. What contributed to their safety beyond every thing else, was the recollection of the sentence passed on Sergius and Virginius; so that a reinforcement was quickly led round from the principal camp, where the delay had been made in the former case, and these fell on the rear of the Capenatians, while their front was engaged against the rampart of the Romans. The fight no sooner began here than it struck terror into the Faliscians also, and a seasonable sally, made from the camp while they were thus disordered, obliged them to turn their backs. The victors then, pursuing them in their retreat, made vast slaughter among them; and, in a short time after, a party, which had been employed in ravaging the territory of Capena, accidentally meeting them as they fled in confusion, intirely cut off those who had survived the fight. Great numbers of the Veientians also, in their retreat to the city, were slain before the gates; for, dreading lest the Romans should force in along with them, they closed the gates, and shut out the hindmost of their own men. These were the transactions of that year.

14. And now approached the election of military tribunes, which seemed to engross a greater share of the attention of the patricians than even the business of the war; for they saw that the sovereign power was not only shared with the commons, but almost intirely lost to themselves. They therefore by concert engaged the most illustrious characters to stand candidates, such as they believed people would be ashamed to pass by; the others, nevertheless, put in practice every possible expedient, as if they had all been aiming at the same object, and endeavored to draw to their side, not only men, but the gods, representing the election held two years before in a light offensive to religion: that 'in the former of those years, a winter came on with intolerable severity, such as bore every appearance of a prodigy sent from the gods. In the following, no longer portents but events ensued; a

pestilence fell on both country and city, manifestly displaying the wrath of heaven; whom, as was discovered in the books of the fates, it was necessary to appease, in order to avert that plague. It appears to the immortals as an affront, that in an election held under their auspices honors should be prostituted, and the distinctions of birth confounded.' The people being deeply struck, both by the high dignity of the candidates, and also by a sense of religion, chose all the military tribunes with consular power from among the patricians, the greater part of them men who had been highly distinguished by public honors: [A. U. C. 357. B. C. 395.] Lucius Valerius Potitus a fifth time, Marcus Valerius Maximus, Marcus Furius Camillus a third time, Lucius Furius Medullinus a third time, Quintus Servilius Fidenas a second time, Quintus Sulpicius Camerinus a second time. During their tribunate nothing very memorable was performed at Veii: the forces were wholly employed in wasting the country: two commanders of consummate abilities did nothing more than carry off vast quantities of spoil, Potitus from Falerii, and Camillus from Capena, leaving nothing undestroyed that could be injured either by sword or fire.

15. In the mean time many prodigies were reported to have happened, the greater part of which met with little credit, and were generally disregarded; partly, because the accounts rested on the testimony of single persons; and partly because, while they were at war with the Etrurians, they could not procure aruspices to perform the expiations. One of them however attracted universal attention; the lake in the Alban forest swelled to an unusual height, without any rain or other cause, so that the fact could only be accounted for by a miracle. Commissioners were sent to the oracle at Delphi, to inquire what the gods portended by this prodigy; but an interpreter of the will of the fates was thrown in their way nearer home: a certain aged Veientian, amidst the scoffs thrown out by the Roman and Etrurian soldiers, from the outposts and guards, pronounced, in the manner of one delivering a

prophecy, that 'the Roman would never be master of Veii until the waters were discharged from the Alban lake.' This, at first, was disregarded, as thrown out at random; afterward it became the subject of conversation: at length one of the Roman soldiers on guard asked a townsman on the nearest post, as from the long continuance of the war they had come into the practice of conversing with each other, who that person was that threw out those ambiguous expressions concerning the Alban lake; and, on hearing that he was an aruspex, the man, whose mind was not without a tincture of religion, pretending that he wished to consult him on the expiation of a private portent, enticed the prophet to a conference. When they had proceeded free from any apprehensions, being both without arms, to a considerable distance from their parties, the young Roman, having the superiority in strength, seized the feeble old man, in the view of all, and, in spite of the bustle made by the Etrurians, carried him off to his own party. Being conducted to the general, he was sent by him to Rome to the senate; and, on their inquiring the meaning of the information which he had given concerning the Alban lake, he answered, that 'certainly the gods had been incensed against the Veientian nation on that day when they prompted him to disclose the decree of the fates, which doomed his native country to destruction. What therefore he had then delivered under the influence of divine inspiration, he could not now recall, so as to render it unsaid; and perhaps the guilt of impiety might be contracted in as high a degree by concealing what it was the will of the gods should be published, as by publishing what ought to be concealed. Thus, therefore, it was denounced in the books of the fates, and the Etrurian doctrine, that whenever the Alban water should rise to an unusual height, if the Romans should then discharge it in a proper manner victory would be granted them over the Veientians; but until that should be done, the gods would never abandon the walls of Veii.' He then gave directions with respect

to the proper method of draining it ; but the senate, deeming his authority of but little weight, and not to be intirely relied on in a case of such importance, determined to wait for the deputies, with the answer of the Pythian oracle.

16. Before the commissioners returned from Delphi, [A. U. C. 358. B. C. 394] or the method of expiating the Alban prodigy was discovered, the new military tribunes with consular power came into office. These were Lucius Julius Iulus, and Lucius Furius Medullinus a fourth time, Lucius Sergius Fidenas, Aulus Postumius Regillensis, Publius Cornelius Maluginensis, and Aulus Manlius. This year there started up a new enemy, the Tarquinians ; who, seeing the Romans embroiled in so many wars at once, against the Volscians at Anxur, where the garrison was besieged ; at Lavici against the Æquans, who were besieging the colony there ; and also against the Veientians and the Faliscians, and the Capenatians, while their affairs within the walls were not less embarrassed by dissensions, thought this a favorable season to attack them with effect. They sent their light-armed cohorts to make depredations on the Roman territories, concluding that the people would either suffer that affront to pass unrevenged, rather than burden themselves with an additional war, or, if they resented it, would send out an army neither numerous nor strong. The Romans felt greater indignation at the affront than concern for the loss sustained by the inroads of the Tarquinians. They therefore undertook the business without either much preparation or long delay. Aulus Postumius and Lucius Julius having collected a body of troops, not by a regular levy, for in that they were prevented by the tribunes of the commons, but mostly volunteers, whom by persuasions they had prevailed on to follow them, directed their march by cross roads through the territory of Cære, and came on the Tarquinians unawares, as they were returning from their depredations heavily laden with booty : they slew great numbers of their men, got

possession of all their baggage; and, having retaken the spoils of their lands, returned to Rome. The space of two days was allowed to the owners to reclaim their property; on the third, what remained unclaimed, the greatest part of which had belonged to the enemy, was sold by auction, and the produce distributed among the soldiers. The issue of the other wars, particularly that of Veii, still remained doubtful. And now the Romans, despairing of success through human aid, began to look for succor towards the fates and the gods, when the deputies arrived from Delphi, bringing with them the decision of the oracle, which corresponded with the answer of the captive prophet. 'Roman, beware lest the Alban water be confined in the lake; beware lest thou suffer it to flow into the sea in a stream. Thou shalt form for it a passage over the fields; and, by dispersing it in a multitude of channels, consume it. Then press thou boldly on the walls of the enemy; assured, that over the city which thou besiegest through so many years, conquest is granted by these orders of the fates, which are now disclosed. The war concluded, do thou, possessed of victory, bring ample offerings to my temples, and renewing the religious rites of thy country, the observation of which has been neglected, perform them in the usual manner.'

17. The captive prophet, on this, began to be held in very high esteem, and the military tribunes, Cornelius and Postumius, thenceforward consulted with him concerning the expiration of the Alban prodigy, and the proper method of appeasing the gods. It was at length discovered what was that neglect of ceremonies and omission of customary rites for which they were blamed by the gods. It was, in fact, nothing else than that the magistrates, their election being defective, had not, with due regularity, directed the Latine festival¹ and the anniversary solemnities on the

¹ The Romans, *Latines, and some states of the Hernicians and Volscians, met annually on the Alban Mount to celebrate this festival, in commemoration of the treaty made with those states by Tarquin the Proud. It was attended by the depu-

Alban Mount. The only mode of expiation in this case was, that the military tribunes should resign the government, the auspices be taken anew, and an interregnum appointed. All which was performed, pursuant to a decree of the senate. There were three interreges in succession: Lucius Valerius, Quintus Servilius Fidenas, and Marcus Furius Camillus. In the mean time the city was a scene of unceasing confusion and disorder, the plebeian tribunes refusing to let the elections proceed, unless a previous stipulation were agreed to, that the greater number of the military tribunes should be chosen out of the commons. During these transactions a general assembly of Etruria was held at the temple of Voltumna, and the Capenatians and Faliscians demanding that all the states of Etruria should unite in the design of raising the siege of Veii, the answer returned was, that 'they had formerly given a refusal of the same request to the Veientians, because these ought not to apply for succor where, in a case of such consequence, they had not applied for advice. That at present, though they of themselves would not refuse it, yet the situation of their affairs compelled them so to do; especially as in that part of Etruria the Gauls, a race of men with whom they were unacquainted, had lately become their neighbors, and with whom they were not on a footing, either of secure peace, or of determined war. Nevertheless, in consideration of the blood, the name, and the present dangers of their kinsmen, they would go so far, as that if any of their young men chose to go to that war, they would not hinder them.' The arrival of these was announced at Rome, as of a formidable number of enemies; and through the apprehensions which this excited for the public safety, the violence of their intestine quarrels of course began to subside.

ties of forty-seven states, who, under the direction of the Roman consul, or other chief magistrate, offered joint sacrifices to Jupiter, whom they termed Latialis. In particular, they offered a white bull, of which the deputies of each state received a piece.

18. Without causing any displeasure to the patricians, the prerogative tribe,¹ at the election, chose for military tribune Publius Licinius Calvus, although he had not declared himself a candidate; this honor was done him, because in his former administration he had approved himself a man of moderation; but he was now in extreme old age. It was observed, that those who had been his colleagues, in that year, were re-elected in order; Lucius Titinius, Publius Mænius, Publius Mælius, Cneius Genucius, and Lucius Atilius. Before these were proclaimed to the tribes, who were to vote in the ordinary course, Publius Licinius Calvus, with permission of the interrex, spoke to this effect: ‘I consider it, Romans, as an omen of concord, a thing essentially requisite to the state at the present juncture, that, from the remembrance of our former administration, you are desirous of re-electing the same colleagues, improved by experience. As to me, you no longer see me the same, but the shadow and the name of Publius Licinius. The powers of my body are decayed, my senses of sight and hearing are grown dull, my memory falters, and the vigor of my mind is blunted. Behold here a youth,’ pursued he, holding his son, ‘the representation and image of him whom you formerly made a military tribune, the first plebeian that was ever so honored. Him, formed under my own discipline, I present and dedicate to the commonwealth as a substitute in my stead. And I beseech you, Romans, that the honor which, of your own motion, you offered to me, you will vouchsafe to grant to his petition, and to my prayers, which I add in his behalf.’ This request of the father was complied with, and his son Publius Licinius was declared military tribune with consular power, together with those whom

¹ The prerogative tribe was that to which the lot fell to vote first at the election of magistrates. Anciently, the centuries were called to give their votes according to the order established among them by Servius Tullius, first the knights, then the centuries of the first class, &c. It was afterwards determined by lot in what order they should vote.

we mentioned before. [A. U. C. 359. B. C. 393.] The military tribunes, Titinius and Genucius, marched against the Faliscians and Capenatians, and acting with more courage than conduct, fell into an ambush. Genucius atoned for his rashness by an honorable death, falling among the foremost, and in the front of the standards. Titinius, after rallying his men, who had been thrown into the utmost confusion, and leading them to a rising ground, formed them again in order of battle; but did not venture to come down and meet the enemy. The disgrace was greater than the loss, and had like to have proved the cause of grievous misfortunes, so great was the alarm which it excited, not only at Rome, where it was highly exaggerated by report, but also in the camp before Veii. Here the soldiers were, with difficulty, restrained from flight, on a rumor having spread that the generals and the army had been cut to pieces; and that the Capenatians and Faliscians, flushed with victory, and all the youth of Etruria were at no great distance from their posts. Accounts still more dreadful had gained credit at Rome: that the camp at Veii was already attacked, and that part of the enemy were already on their march to the city, prepared for an assault. The men ran in crowds to the walls, and the matrons, called out from their houses by the public distraction, offered supplications for protection in all the temples, beseeching the gods to repel destruction from the Roman walls, from the houses of the city, and the temples, and to turn back such terrors on Veii, if the sacred rites had been renewed, and the prodigies expiated in due manner.

19. The games and the Latine festival had now been performed anew, the water from the Alban lake¹ discharged on the fields, and the fates demanded the ruin of Veii. Accordingly, a general, selected both for the

¹ The remains of the sewer, a stupendous work, by which the water was discharged, still subsist, at the bottom of the hill on which stands Castel Gandolfo, the elegant country retirement of the pope.

destruction of that city, and the preservation of his native country, Marcus Furius Camillus, was nominated dictator, and he appointed Publius Cornelius Scipio his master of the horse. The change of the commander at once produced a change in every particular: even the fortune of the city seemed to have assumed a new face; so that men felt themselves inspired with different hopes and different spirits. He first of all put in force the rules of military discipline against such as had fled from Veii, on the alarm excited there, and took effectual care that the enemy should not be the principal object of the soldiers' fears. Then having, by proclamation, appointed a certain day for holding a levy of troops, he made, in the mean time, a hasty excursion in person to Veii in order to strengthen the courage of the soldiers. From thence he returned to Rome to enlist the new army, and not a man declined the service. Young men came even from foreign states, Latines and Hernicians, offering their service in the war: to whom the dictator returned thanks in the senate. And now, having completed all necessary preparations for the campaign, he vowed, in pursuance of a decree of the senate, that he would, on the capture of Veii, celebrate the great games; and would repair and dedicate the temple of Mother Matuta, which had been formerly consecrated by king Servius Tullius. Marching out of the city at the head of his army, while people's anxiety was stronger than their hopes, he came to the first engagement with the Faliscians and Capenatians, in the district of Nepote, on which occasion every particular was conducted with consummate prudence and skill: success of course ensued. He not only routed the enemy in battle, but took possession of their camp, and seized a vast quantity of spoil, the greatest part of which was put into the hands of the questor, and no great share distributed to the soldiers. From thence the troops were led to Veii, where additional forts were erected at smaller distances from each other, and by an edict, forbidding any to fight without orders, the soldiers were taken off from skirmishing, which had hitherto been frequently

practised between the walls and the rampart of the camp, and their labor applied to the works. Of these, the greatest by far and most laborious was a mine, which they undertook to carry into the citadel of the enemy. In order that there should be no interruption in this, and at the same time that the same set of persons should not, by unintermitted labor under ground, be spent with fatigue, he formed the whole number of pioneers into six divisions, and six hours were allotted for each division to work in rotation; nor did they stop either by night or day, until they formed a passage into the citadel.

20. When the dictator now saw conquest within his reach, and that he was on the point of getting possession of a city of the greatest opulence, the spoil of which would exceed in quantity whatever had been obtained in all former wars taken together, fearing lest he might incur either the resentment of the soldiers, as being too sparing in his distribution of it, or the displeasure of the senators, as being profusely lavish, he despatched a letter to the senate, that 'through the favor of the immortal gods, his own conduct, and the persevering courage of the troops, Veii would immediately be in the power of the Roman people, and requested their directions with regard to the spoil.' Two opinions divided the senate; one was that of the elder Publius Licinius, who being first called on by his son, as we are told, proposed a resolution, that public notice should be given to the people by proclamation, that whosoever chose to share in the spoil should retire to the camp before Veii. The other that of Appius Claudius, who censured such profusion as unprecedented, extravagant, and partial; and which would also be productive of ill consequences, if people should once conceive an opinion that it would be criminal to deposit in the treasury, when exhausted by wars, the money taken from the enemy. He therefore recommended it to them to make that a fund for the payment of the soldiers' wages, to the end that the commons might be eased of part of the tax: for 'every man's

family,' he said, ' would feel its share of such a bounty in equal proportion, and the hands of the idle city rabble, ever greedy of rapine, would not then snatch away the prizes due to men who had shown their bravery in war: it being generally the case that the man who is most ready, on every occasion, to undertake the largest share of toil and danger, is the least active in plundering.' Licinius, on the other hand, argued, that in that case, the money would be an eternal cause of jealousy and ill-humor, would afford grounds for invidious representations to the commons, and, in consequence, for seditions, and the enacting of new laws. ' It was therefore more to be desired,' he said, ' that the affection of the commons might be conciliated by a bounty of that kind; that this resource should be afforded them after they had been exhausted and intirely drained, by the payment of the tax for so many years; and that they should enjoy the fruits arising from a war, in which they had employed, one might say, the better part of their lives: that what a man took with his own hand from the enemy, and brought home with him, would afford him more satisfaction and delight than a share many times larger conferred on him by another: that the dictator himself was aware of the odium and the disagreeable reflections to which this business might subject him, and had for that reason transferred the determination of it from himself to the senate: and that the senate ought, on their part, since the business had been thus thrown on them, to hand it over to the commons, and let every man enjoy what the chance of war should give him.' This plan was deemed the safer, as it promised to procure popularity to the senate. Accordingly proclamation was made that all such as chose might go to the camp of the dictator to share in the plunder of Veii. The vast multitude who went intirely filled the camp.

21. Then the dictator, after taking the auspices, came forth, and having previously ordered the soldiers to take arms, spoke thus: ' O Pythian Apollo, under thy guidance, and inspired by thy divinity, I am now pro-

ceeding to destroy the city of Veii, and I devote to thee the tenth part of the spoil thereof. Thee also, imperial Juno, who now dwellest in Veii, I beseech, that when we shall have obtained the victory, thou wilt accompany us into our city, soon to be thine own, where a temple shall receive thee, worthy of thy majesty.' After these prayers, having more than a sufficient number of men, he assaulted the city on every quarter, in order to prevent their perceiving the danger which threatened from the mine. The Veientians, ignorant that they had been already doomed to ruin by their own prophets, and likewise by foreign oracles; that the gods had been already invited to a share in their spoil; that some of them listening to the vows by which they had been solicited to forsake their city, began to look towards the temples of the enemy, and new habitations, and that this was the last day of their existence; fearing nothing less than their walls being already undermined, and the citadel filled with enemies, ran briskly in arms to the ramparts, wondering what could be the reason, that when for so many days not one Roman had stirred from his post, they should now run up to the walls without apprehension, as if struck with a sudden fit of madness. A fabulous account has been given of an incident happening at this juncture; it is, that while the king of the Veientians was offering sacrifice, the words of the aruspex were heard in the mine, denouncing that whoever should cut up the entrails of that victim should obtain the victory, and that this incited the Roman soldiers to burst open the mine, seize the entrails, and carry them to the dictator. But in matters of such remote antiquity, I think it enough, if relations which carry a resemblance of truth, be received as true; stories of this kind, better calculated for the extravagant exhibitions of the stage, which delights in the marvellous, than for gaining belief, it is needless either to affirm or refute. The mine at this time, full of chosen men, suddenly discharged its armed bands in the temple of Juno, which stood in the citadel of Veii, some of whom attacked the rear of the

enemy on the walls, some tore down the bars of the gates, some set fire to the houses, from the roofs of which stones and tiles were thrown by females and slaves. Every place was filled with confused clamor, composed of the terrifying shouts of the assailants, and the cries of the affrighted, joined to the lamentations of the women and children. Those who defended the works were in an instant beaten off, and the gates forced open, where some entering in bodies, others scaling the deserted walls, the town was filled with the enemy, and a fight commenced in every quarter. After great slaughter the ardor of the combatants began to abate, and the dictator, proclaiming orders by the heralds, that no injury should be done to the unarmed, put an end to the effusion of blood. The townsmen then began to lay down their arms and surrender, and the soldiers, with permission of the dictator, dispersed in search of booty. When the spoil was collected before his eyes, far exceeding both in quantity and in the value of the effects all his calculations and hopes, the dictator is said to have raised his hands towards heaven, and prayed 'that if any gods or men looked on his success and that of the Roman people as excessive, such jealousy might be appeased by some calamity peculiar to himself alone, rather than by the slightest detriment to the Roman people.' It is recorded that as he turned himself about, during this address to the gods, he stumbled and fell; and this was considered afterwards, by such as judged of the matter by the events which followed, to be an omen portending Camillus' own condemnation, and the disaster of the city of Rome being taken, which happened a few years after. The subduing of the enemy, and the plundering of this very opulent city, employed that whole day.

22. Next day the dictator sold the inhabitants of free condition by auction: the money arising from this sale was all that was applied to the use of the public, and even that was resented by the commons. As to what spoil they brought home, they did not think themselves

under any obligation, in applying it either to the general who, with design to procure their countenance to his own parsimony, had referred to the senate a business which properly belonged to his own jurisdiction, or to the senate, but to the Licinian family, of which the son had laid the affair before the senate, and the father first proposed the popular resolution. When the wealth belonging to the inhabitants had been carried away from Veii, they then began to remove the treasures of the gods, and the gods themselves, but with the demeanor of worshippers rather than of ravishers ; for certain young men selected out of the army, to whom was assigned the charge of conveying imperial Juno to Rome, after thoroughly washing their bodies, and clothing themselves in white garments, entered her temple with tokens of adoration, and approaching, laid hands on her with religious awe, because, according to the Etrurian rules, no person but a priest of a particular family had been usually allowed to touch that statue. Afterwards one of them, either prompted by divine inspiration, or in a fit of youthful jocularly, saying, ‘Juno, art thou willing to go to Rome?’ the rest cried out at once that the goddess had assented. To this fable an addition was made that she was heard to utter the words, ‘I am willing.’ However, we are informed that she was raised from the place whereon she stood by machines, with slight efforts, and was found light and easy to be removed, as if she accompanied them with her own consent ; that she was brought safe to the Aventine, her eternal seat, to which the vows of the Roman dictator had invited her, where the same Camillus who had vowed it afterwards dedicated her temple. Thus fell Veii, the most powerful city of the Etrurian nation, even in its final overthrow demonstrating its greatness ; for, after having withstood a siege during ten summers and winters, without intermission, after inflicting on its enemy losses considerably greater than itself had felt ; even now, even when fate at last urged its doom, yet still it was vanquished not by force, but by the art of engineers.

23. When the news arrived at Rome that Veii was taken, notwithstanding that the prodigies had been expiated, that the answers of the prophets and the responses of the Pythian oracles were known to all, and that they had used the most effectual means which human wisdom could suggest, for insuring success, in giving the command to Marcus Furius, the greatest general of the age; yet, as they had for so many years experienced such a variety of fortune in that war, and had sustained so many losses, their joy was as unbounded as if they had entertained no hopes of that event: and before the senate passed any decree to the purpose, every temple was filled with the Roman matrons returning thanks to the gods. The senate ordered supplications for the space of four days, a longer term than had ever been appointed in the case of any former war. The dictator also on his arrival was more numerously attended than any general had ever been before; all ranks pouring out to meet him, while the honors conferred on him in his triumph far surpassed the compliments usually paid on such occasions. He himself was the most conspicuous object of all, riding through the city in a chariot drawn by white horses was deemed unbecoming, not to say a member of a commonwealth, but a human being; people deeming it an affront to religion that the dictator should emulate the equipage of Jupiter and Apollo; and on account chiefly of that single circumstance his triumph was more splendid than pleasing. He then contracted for the building of a temple to imperial Juno on the Aventine, and dedicated that of Mother Matuta: after performing these services to the gods, and to mankind, he laid down his office of dictator. The offering to be made to Apollo came then under consideration, and Camillus declaring that he had vowed the tenth part of the spoil to that use, and the pontiffs having given their opinion that the people ought to discharge that vow, it was found difficult to strike out a proper mode of obliging them to refund the spoil, in order that the due proportion might be set apart for that religious

purpose. At length, recourse was had to a method which seemed least troublesome, that every man who wished to acquit himself and his family of the obligation of the vow, making his own estimate of his share of the spoil, should pay into the treasury the tenth part of the value, in order that a golden offering might be made, worthy of the grandeur of the temple, the divinity of the god, and the dignity of the Roman people : this contribution also helped to alienate the affection of the commons from Camillus. During these transactions ambassadors had come from the Volscians and Æquans to sue for peace, and peace was granted them rather out of a desire that the state, wearied with so tedious a war, might enjoy some repose, than in consideration of the desert of the persons petitioning.

24. The year [A. U. C. 360. B. C. 392] which followed the taking of Veii had six military tribunes, with consular power, the two Publii Cornelii, Cossus, and Scipio, Marcus Valerius Maximus a second time, Cæso Fabius Ambustus a third time, Lucius Furius Medullinus a fifth time, and Quintus Servilius a third time. The war with the Faliscians fell by lot to the Cornelii ; that with the Capenatians to Valerius and Servilius. These latter made no attempt on the towns, either by assault or siege, but spread devastation over the lands, and carried off as spoil every thing found in the country ; not a fruit tree, nor any useful vegetable was left in the whole territory. These losses reduced the people of Capena to submission, and on their suing for peace it was granted. The war with the Faliscians still continued. Meanwhile seditions multiplied at Rome, and in order to assuage their violence it was resolved that a colony should be sent to the country of the Volscians, for which three thousand Roman citizens should be inrolled, and the triumvirs, appointed to conduct it, distributed three acres and seven-twelfths to each man. This donation was looked on with scorn, because they considered the offer as intended to pacify them, on the disappointment of higher expectations : for ‘ why,’ said they, ‘ should the commons be sent

into exile among the Volscians, when the beautiful city of Veii lay within view, and the territory belonging to it being more fertile and more extensive than the territory of Rome? This city, too, they extolled as preferable even to that of Rome, both in point of situation, and the magnificence of its edifices and inclosures, both public and private. Nay, they went so far as to propose the scheme which, after the taking of Rome by the Gauls, was more generally adopted, of removing to Veii. But their plan now was, that half of the commons and half of the senate should fix their habitations at Veii; and thus two cities, composing one commonwealth, might be inhabited by the Roman people. The nobles opposed these measures with such warmth, as to declare, that they would sooner die in the sight of the Roman people than that any of those matters should be put to the vote: for, 'when one city at present supplied such abundance of dissensions, what would be the case with two? Was it possible that any one could prefer a vanquished to a victorious city, and suffer Veii, after being captured, to enjoy a greater degree of prosperity than ever it had known in its most flourishing days? In short, they might be forsaken in their native country by their fellow-citizens, but no force ought ever to compel them to forsake that country and those citizens, and to follow Titus Sicinius (for he was the plebeian tribune who had brought forward the proposition), as a founder to Veii, abandoning the divine Romulus, the son of a god, the parent and founder of the city of Rome.' These disputes proceeded to a shameful height; for the patricians had drawn over one half of the plebeian tribunes to their sentiments; so that no other circumstance obliged the commons to refrain from outrage, but that after a clamor had been set up as the prelude to riot, the principal members of the senate, throwing themselves foremost in the way of the crowd, desired that they might be the persons attacked, struck, or put to death. On this the populace not only abstained from offering violence to their age,

their dignity, and honorable characters, but in respect for their opinions restrained their rage even from any such attempts on others.

25. Camillus on every occasion, and in every place, publicly asserted that 'there was nothing surprising in all these commotions; that the state was actually gone mad; for though it was engaged by a vow, yet it bestowed more concern on every other kind of business than on acquitting itself of the obligation. He would say nothing of the contribution of an alms in reality, rather than of a tenth. However, as each man had bound himself in his private capacity, the public was set free. But his conscience would not suffer him to be silent on another head—that the tenth of that part only of the spoil was set apart, which consisted of movable effects, and no mention was made of the city or of the lands, which, as well as the rest, were comprehended in the vow.' The senate, finding it difficult to come to a determination on this point, referred it to the pontiffs in conjunction with Camillus; and that body gave their opinion, that whatsoever had been the property of the Veientians before the uttering of the vow, and after the vow was made, came into the power of the Roman people; of that the tenth part was sacred to Apollo. Thus the city and the land were brought into the estimate. The money was issued from the treasury, and the consular military tribunes were commissioned to lay it out in the purchase of gold. A sufficient quantity of this metal could not be procured; on which the matrons, after holding some meetings to deliberate on the subject, with unanimous consent, engaged to supply the military tribunes with gold, and actually carried all their ornaments into the treasury. Nothing ever happened which gave greater pleasure to the senate, and it is said that, in return for this generosity, these women were honored with the privilege of using covered chariots when going to public worship or games, and open chaises on any day whether festival or common. The gold being received from each by weight, and a valuation being made, in order

that the price might be repaid, it was resolved that a golden bowl should be made thereof, to be carried to Delphi as an offering to Apollo. No sooner were men's minds disengaged from religious concerns than the plebeian tribunes renewed their seditious practices, stimulating the resentment of the populace against all the nobility, but especially against Camillus; alleging that 'by his confiscations and consecrations he had reduced the spoils of Veii to nothing;' daringly abusing the nobles in their absence; yet, on their appearing, as they sometimes threw themselves in the way of their fury, showing them some respect. When they perceived that the business would be protracted beyond the present year, they re-elected for the year following such tribunes of the commons as had promoted the passing of the law, and the patricians exerted themselves to effect the same with regard to such of them as had protested against it. By these means the same persons mostly were re-elected plebeian tribunes.

26. At the election of military tribunes [A. U. C. 361. B. C. 391], the patricians, by straining their interest to the utmost, prevailed to have Marcus Furius Camillus chosen. They pretended that, on account of the wars in which they were engaged, they wished to have him as a commander: but, in fact, they wanted him as an antagonist to the tribunes, to check their corrupt profusion. Together with Camillus were elected military tribunes with consular power, Lucius Furius Medullinus a sixth time, Caius Æmilius, Lucius Valerius Poplicola, Spurius Postumius and Publius Cornelius a second time. In the beginning of the year the plebeian tribunes declined proceeding on the business, until Marcus Furius Camillus should set out against the Faliscians; for he had been appointed to the command in that war. In consequence of this delay the ardor of the pursuit was cooled, and Camillus whom they had chiefly dreaded as an opponent, found an increase of glory in the country of the Faliscians: for the enemy at first confining themselves

within their walls, which appeared to be the safest plan, he by ravaging the country and burning the houses, compelled them to come forth from the city. But still their fears prevented them from advancing to any considerable length. At the distance of about a mile from the town they pitched their camp, for the security of which they confided intirely in the difficulty of the approaches, all the roads on every side being rough and craggy, in some parts narrow, in others steep: but Camillus, following the directions of a prisoner taken in the country, who acted as his guide, decamped in the latter end of the night, and, at break of day, showed himself on ground much higher than theirs. The Romans were formed into three divisions, each of which, in turn, worked on the fortifications of the camp, while the rest of the troops stood in readiness for battle. The enemy then making an attempt to interrupt his works, he attacked and put them to flight; and with such consternation were the Faliscians struck, that in their haste they passed by their own camp, which lay in their way, and pushed forward to the city. Great numbers were slain and wounded before they reached the gates, through which they rushed in great confusion and dismay. Their camp was taken, and the spoil given up by Camillus to the questors, to the great dissatisfaction of the soldiers: but such was the influence of his strictness in discipline, that the same propriety of conduct which excited their resentment raised also their admiration. The town was then invested, and the approaches carried on, while sometimes occasional attacks were made by the townsmen on the Roman posts, and trifling skirmishes ensued. Thus time was spent without either party gaining a prospect of success, and as the besieged were more plentifully supplied than the besiegers with corn and all other necessities, from magazines which they had formed some time before, the affair, to judge from appearances, would have been as laborious and tedious as at Veii, had not fortune, together with an instance of meritorious conduct, which,

in respect of military matters, he had already sufficiently displayed, procured to the Roman commander a speedy victory.

27. It was the custom among the Faliscians to employ the same person as master and private tutor to their children; and, as it continues to be the practice to this day in Greece, several were intrusted at the same time to the care of one man. The teacher who appeared to have the greater share of knowledge had of course the instruction of the children of the first rank. The person supposed to possess this knowledge, and now so intrusted, having made it a custom in time of peace to carry the boys out of the city for the sake of exercise and play, and having never discontinued the practice since the war began, drew them away from the gate, sometimes in shorter, sometimes in longer excursions. At length, he found an opportunity of straying farther than usual; and, by introducing a variety of plays and conversations, he led them on between the advanced guards of the enemy, and then through the Roman camp, into the tent of Camillus; and there, to this atrocious act, added a speech still more atrocious: that ‘he had delivered Falerii into the hands of the Romans, by putting into their power those boys whose parents were there at the head of affairs.’ On hearing which Camillus told him, ‘Neither the people, nor the commander to whom thou hast come, thou wretch, with thy villanous offer, is like unto thyself. Between us and the Faliscians there subsists not, it is true, that kind of society which is formed by human compact, but that which nature has implanted in both does, and ever will subsist. War has its laws as well as peace; and we have learned in waging it to be as observant of those laws as we are brave. We carry arms, not against persons of such age as these, who, even in the storming of towns, are exempted from injury, but against men who have arms in their hands as well as ourselves, and who, without being either injured or provoked by us, made an attack on a Roman camp at Veii. Those thou

hast conquered, as far as in thee lay, by an act of unexampled villany. I shall conquer them as I conquered Veii, by Roman methods, by valor, by labor, and by arms.' Then ordering him to be stripped naked, and his hands to be tied behind his back, he delivered him to the boys to be conducted back to Falerii, and gave them rods with which they should scourge the traitor, and drive him into the city. Such a spectacle first attracting a concourse of people, and the senate being afterwards summoned by the magistrates on the extraordinary case, so great an alteration was hereby effected in their sentiments, that they, who a short time before were so outrageous in their hatred and anger, as almost to have chosen the catastrophe of the Veientians rather than the truce obtained by the Capenatians: these same persons now, through every rank in the state, universally called out for peace. The faith of the Romans, and the justice of their general, were extolled by every mouth in the forum and in the senate-house; and, in compliance with the universal desire, ambassadors went to the camp to Camillus, and from thence, with permission of Camillus, to Rome, to make a surrender of Falerii. On being introduced to the senate, they are said to have spoken in this manner: 'Conscript fathers! overcome by you and your general, by a victory of such a kind, as neither God nor man can view with displeasure, we surrender ourselves into your hands, and in an expectation which redounds in the highest degree to the honor of the conqueror, that we shall live more happily under your government than under our own laws. In the issue of this war, two salutary examples have been held out to mankind. You have preferred good faith in war to present victory. We, challenged to emulation in the observance of faith, have voluntarily presented you with conquest. We are your subjects: send persons to receive our arms, hostages, and our city, whose gates they will find open. You will never have reason to complain of our fidelity, or we of your government.' Camillus received the thanks both of the

enemy and of his countrymen. The Faliscians were ordered to furnish that year's pay for the soldiers, that the Roman people might enjoy a respite from the tax. As soon as peace was acceded to the troops were brought home to Rome.

28. Camillus returning home, crowned with honors of far greater value than when white horses had drawn him in triumph through the city, being distinguished by a conquest acquired through the means of justice and good faith, the senate did not conceal their sense of the respectful attention due to his concerns, but hastened the measures for acquitting him of his vow. Lucius Valerius, Lucius Sergius, and Aulus Manlius, were sent ambassadors with one ship of war to carry the golden bowl to Delphi, as an offering to Apollo. These falling in with some Liparensian pirates, not far from the Sicilian strait, were taken and carried to Liparæ. It was the custom of the state to make a general division of all booty acquired, as if piracy were the public act of the government. It happened that the office of chief magistrate was filled by one Timasitheus, a man more like the Romans than his own countrymen, who, being touched himself with reverence for the character of ambassadors, for the offering, for the god to whom it was sent, and the cause for which it was presented, impressed the multitude likewise, who almost in all cases resemble their ruler, with proper sentiments of religion on the occasion; and, after entertaining the ambassadors at the public expense, convoyed them with some of his own ships to Delphi, and from thence conducted them in safety to Rome. By decree of senate a league of hospitality was formed with him, and presents were made him by order of the state. During this year the war with the Æquans was attended with advantages pretty equal on both sides; so that it was a matter of doubt, both at Rome and even among the troops themselves, whether they were victorious or vanquished. The Roman commanders were Caius Æmilius and Spurius Postumius, two of the military tribunes. At first they

acted in conjunction, but after having defeated the enemy in the field, they came to a determination that *Æmilius*, with a sufficient force, should keep possession of *Verrugo*, and that *Postumius* should lay waste the country. In performance of this, the latter, since the late success, thinking less caution requisite, and marching in an unguarded manner, was attacked by the *Æquans*, who threw his troops into confusion, and drove them to the next hills. The panic spread from thence even to *Verrugo*, to the other part of the enemy posted there. *Postumius* having withdrawn his men to a place of safety, called them to an assembly, where he upbraided them with their fright, and with having fled from the field, being routed by an enemy heretofore remarkable for cowardice and running away. On which the whole army cried out together, that they deserved to hear such reproaches, and that they acknowledged the shamefulness of their behavior; but that they were at the same time determined to make amends for it, and that the conqueror's joy on the occasion should be but of short duration. They requested earnestly that he would lead them thence directly to the camp of the enemy, which lay in the plain within their view, offering to submit to any punishment if they did not take it before night. After commending their resolution, he ordered them to refresh themselves, and to be in readiness at the fourth watch: the enemy on the other side, with design to prevent the Romans from flying from the hill by night, through the road which led to *Verrugo*, were there prepared to receive them, and the battle began at the first hour. However, the moon was up through the whole night, so that the fight was managed with as little confusion as it could have been by day. But the shout reaching *Verrugo*, where it was imagined that the Roman camp had been attacked, the troops were seized with such terror, that in spite of the intreaties of *Æmilius*, and all his endeavors to detain them, they fled to *Tusculum* in the utmost disorder. From thence a report was carried to Rome that *Postumius* and his

army were cut to pieces. However, as soon as daylight had removed the danger of falling into ambuscades, in case of a hasty pursuit, riding through the ranks, and demanding the performance of their promises, the general infused into the men such a degree of ardor, that the *Æquans* could no longer withstand their efforts, but betook themselves to flight, when a slaughter of them ensued (as in a case where anger was more concerned than courage), that ended in the intire destruction of their army; and the afflicting news from Tusculum, which had caused a great, though groundless alarm in the city, was followed by a letter from Postumius decked with laurel,¹—that victory had fallen to the Roman people, and that the army of the *Æquans* was wholly destroyed.

29. As no determination had yet been made, with respect to the plans introduced by the plebeian tribunes, the commons on the one hand labored to continue in office such of them as had promoted the passing of the law, and the patricians on the other, to procure the re-election of those who had protested against it. But the commons had the superior influence in the election of their own magistrates: for which disappointment the patricians revenged themselves by passing a decree of senate, that consuls (magistrates ever odious to the commons) should be elected. Thus, after an interval of fifteen years, consuls were again appointed, Lucius Lucretius Flavius, and Servius Sulpicius Camerinus. [A. U. C. 362. B. C. 390.] In the beginning of this year, while the plebeian tribunes, uniting their efforts, pressed the passing of their law with great confidence, because there was not any of their body who would protest against it, and while the consuls for that very reason were no less active in opposing it, (the whole attention of the public being taken up with this business,) the *Æquans* made themselves masters of Vitellia, a Roman colony in their territory. The general part of the colonists escaped with safety

¹ It was the custom, when the Roman generals sent intelligence of a victory, to wrap their letters up in laurel.

to Rome ; for the town being betrayed to the enemy in the night, there was nothing to hinder their flight from the contrary side of the city. That province fell to the lot of the consul Lucius Lucretius. He marched thither with an army, defeated the enemy in the field, and returned to Rome, where he was to encounter a contest of much greater difficulty. A prosecution had been commenced against Aulus Virginus and Quintus Pomponius, plebeian tribunes of the two preceding years, whom the senate was bound in honor to defend with the joint exertions of all the patricians ; for no one laid any other charge against them, with respect either to their conduct in life, or their behavior in office, than that, to gratify the nobles, they had protested against the law proposed by the tribunes. However, the resentment of the commons overpowered the influence of the senate, and, by a sentence of most pernicious example, those men, convicted of no crime, were condemned to pay a fine of ten thousand asses in weight.¹ This highly incensed the patricians : Camillus openly reproached the commons with violating the duty which they owed to their own order, telling them, that ‘ while they thus vented their spleen on their own magistrates, they did not perceive that by their iniquitous sentence they had abolished the privilege of protesting, and by taking away that privilege, had overturned the tribunitian power : for they were much mistaken if they imagined that the patricians would endure the unbridled licentiousness of that office. If tribunitian violence could not be repelled by tribunitian aid, the patricians would find out a weapon of some other kind. He censured the consuls also, for silently suffering those tribunes, who had complied with the directions of the senate, to be disappointed in their reliance on the faith of the public.’ By such discourses, uttered in public, he exasperated people daily more and more against him.

30. As to the senate, he never ceased urging them to

¹ 32l. 5s. 10d.

a vigorous opposition to the passing of the law ; exhorting them, that ‘ when the day arrived on which it was to be put to the vote, they should go down to the forum with no other sentiments than such as became men who knew they were to contend for their religion and liberty ; for the temples of their gods, and the soil that gave them birth. As to his own particular part, if it were allowable for him, during a contest wherein the interest of his country lay at stake, to consider the aggrandisement of his own character, it would even redound to the increase of his fame, that a city which he had taken should be filled with inhabitants, that he should every day enjoy that monument of his own glory, and have before his eyes a people whom he himself had led in his triumph, and that all men, at every step they took, should meet with testimonies of his valor. But, in his opinion, it would be an impious proceeding, if a city forsaken and abandoned by the immortal gods were to be inhabited ; if the Roman people were to reside in a captivated soil, and to exchange a victorious for a vanquished country.’ Stimulated by such arguments, uttered by the first man in the state, the patricians, both old and young, when the law was to be debated, came in a body to the forum, and dispersing themselves through the tribes, each endeavored to influence the members of his own body ; beseeching them, with tears, ‘ not to abandon the country, in defence of which themselves and their fathers had fought with the greatest bravery and the greatest success, pointing at the same time to the capitol, the temple of Vesta, and the other temples of the gods which stood within view ; that they would not drive the Roman people, as exiles and outcasts, away from their native soil and guardian deities, into a once hostile city, and bring matters to such a conclusion, that it would be better if Veii had never been taken, lest Rome should be abandoned.’ As they made use of no violence, but of intreaties only, and among these intreaties made frequent mention of the gods, the greatest part of the people were impressed with an opi-

nion that religion was concerned in the case, and the tribes, by a majority of one, rejected the law. The patricians were so highly gratified by this success, that next day, the consuls holding a meeting for the purpose, a decree of senate was passed, that a distribution should be made to the commons of the Veientian lands, in the proportion of seven acres to each, and that this distribution should be extended not only to the fathers of families, but to every person in their houses of free condition, that they might have satisfaction in rearing children with the hope of such an establishment.

31. [A. U. C. 363. B. C. 389.] This generosity had such a conciliatory effect on the minds of the commons, that no opposition was made to the election of consuls. Lucius Valerius Potitus and Marcus Manlius, afterwards surnamed Capitolinus, were appointed to that office. In their consulate were celebrated the great games which Marcus Furius when dictator had vowed, on occasion of the war with the Veientians. In this year also the temple of imperial Juno, vowed by the same dictator, during the same war, was dedicated, and it is mentioned that the matrons displayed an extraordinary degree of zeal in their attendance on the dedication. In the campaign against the Æquans, the seat whereof was at Algidum, nothing memorable occurred; the enemy scarcely waiting for the engagement to begin before they betook themselves to flight. To Valerius, because he continued the pursuit and slaughter with great earnestness, a triumph was decreed; to Manlius an ovation. This year there sprung up a new enemy, the Volsinians, against whom no army could be sent on account of a famine and pestilence which raged in the Roman territories, in consequence of extraordinary drought and heat. On these circumstances the Volsinians presumed with such confidence that, forming a junction with the Salpinians, they made incursions on the lands of the Romans. War was then proclaimed against those two nations. Caius Julius died in the office of censor, and Marcus Cornelius was sub-

stituted in his room; which proceeding came afterwards to be considered as displeasing to the gods, because in that lustrum Rome was taken. Nor since that time is a censor ever substituted in the room of one dying. The consuls being seized by the distemper, it was resolved that an interregnum should be constituted, and auspices taken anew.

32. [A. U. C. 364. B. C. 388.] In pursuance therefore of a decree of the senate, the consuls having resigned their office, Marcus Furius Camillus was created interrex, who appointed Publius Cornelius Scipio interrex, and he, afterwards, Lucius Valerius Potitus. By him were elected six military tribunes with consular power, to the end that in case any of them should be disabled by bad health, the commonwealth might still have a sufficient number of magistrates. These were Lucius Lucretius, Servius Sulpicius, Marcus Æmilius, Lucius Furius Medullinus a seventh time, Agrippa Furius, and Caius Æmilius a second time, who entered into office on the calends of July. Of these Lucius Lucretius and Caius Æmilius had the Volsinians as their province; Agrippa Furius and Servius Sulpicius the Salpinians. The first battle happened with the Volsinians. This war, formidable in appearance, from the great number of the enemy, was terminated without any difficulty: at the first onset their army was put to flight, and eight thousand of their soldiers, being surrounded by the cavalry, laid down their arms and surrendered. The account which they received of that battle made the Salpinians determine not to hazard an engagement; their troops secured themselves in the towns. The Romans, meeting no opposition, carried off the spoil from all parts, both of the Volsinian and Salpinian territories, until the Volsinians, becoming weary of the war, had a truce for twenty years granted them, on condition that they should make restitution to the Roman people, and furnish the pay of the army for that year. During this year Marcus Cædicinus, a plebeian, gave information to the tribunes, that ‘in the new street, where

the chapel now stands, above the temple of Vesta, he had heard in the dead of the night a voice louder than that of a man, ordering notice to be given to the magistrates that the Gauls were approaching.' This intelligence, on account of the mean condition of the author, was, as frequently happens, disregarded; and also, because that nation, lying at a great distance, was therefore very little known. They not only slighted the warnings of the gods at this crisis of impending fate, but the only human aid which could have availed them, Marcus Furius, they drove away to a distance from the city: for, having been cited by Apuleius, a plebeian tribune, to answer a charge concerning the plunder of Veii, and having about the same time suffered the loss of a son, who had almost arrived at the years of manhood, he called together to his house the members of his tribe and dependents, who composed a great part of the commons, and asked their sentiments on the occasion; when being told, in answer, that they would make up by a contribution whatever fine he should be condemned to pay, but to effect his acquittal was out of their power: he went into exile after praying to the immortal gods, that if he was undeserving of such injurious treatment, they would speedily give that ungrateful state reason to regret his absence. On his not appearing, he was fined fifteen thousand asses in weight.¹

33. Having thus driven away the citizen, whose presence, if in case we can pronounce with certainty on human affairs, would have effectually saved Rome from falling into the hands of an enemy, the destined ruin now approached the city with hasty steps: at this time ambassadors arrived from the people of Clusium, soliciting aid against the Gauls. According to some reports, that nation was allured to cross the Alps, and take possession of the country formerly cultivated by the Etrurians, by the deliciousness of its productions, and especially of the wine, a luxury then new to them:

¹ 48*l.* 8*s.* 8*d.*

and Aruns of Clusium having introduced it into Gaul, for the purpose of engaging that people, that he might, by their means, gratify his resentment for his wife's being debauched by Lucumo, (whose guardian he himself had been,) a young man of overgrown power, on whom it would have been impossible to inflict punishment without foreign assistance. He acted as their guide, in passing the Alps, and advised them to lay siege to Clusium. I do not indeed take on me to deny that the Gauls were conducted to Clusium by Aruns, or some other Clusian; but that those who laid siege to Clusium were not the first who crossed the Alps, is certain; for the Gauls went over into Italy two hundred years before they besieged that town, and took the city of Rome. Nor were these the first of the Etrurians with whom they waged war; for long before this the Gallic armies fought many battles with those who dwelt between the Apennines and the Alps. The Tuscans, before the growth of the Roman empire, possessed very extensive sway both by land and sea: how great their power was in the upper and lower seas by which Italy is almost surrounded, as an island, the names of those seas demonstrate; one being called by the Italian nations the Tuscan, the general appellation of that people; the other the Adriatic, from *Adria*, a colony of Tuscans. The Greeks also call those seas the Tyrrhenian and Adriatic. This people inhabited both the tracts of territory which stretch from each side of the mountain to the two seas, having founded twelve cities on either, first on the hither side towards the lower sea, and afterwards sending to the other side of the Apennines as many colonies as there were capital cities in the mother country. These acquired possession of the whole region beyond the Po, all the way to the Alps, except the corner of the Venetians who dwell round the extreme point of the Adriatic. The Alpine nations also, without doubt, derived their origin from them, particularly the Rhetians, who were rendered savage merely by their situation, so as to re-

tain no mark of their origin, except the accent of their language, and not even that without corruption.

34. Concerning the passage of the Gauls into Italy, what we have learned is this: when Tarquinius Priscus reigned at Rome the supreme government of the Celts, who composed one-third part of Gaul, lay in the hands of the Biturigians. These gave a king to the Celtic nation. Ambigatus, a man very eminently distinguished by his own merit, and by the extraordinary degree of prosperity which attended him, both in his private concerns, and in those of the public: in his time Gaul was so fruitful and so numerously peopled, that it seemed scarcely practicable to retain such an enormous multitude under the direction of one government. Being far advanced in years, and wishing to exonerate his realm of a crowd with which it was overburdened, he declared his intention of sending away his sister's sons, Bellovesus and Sigovesus, two spirited young men, to whatever settlements the gods should point out by their auguries; and that they should carry with them any number of men which they themselves should choose; so that no nation which lay in their way should be able to obstruct their course. Sigovesus was then directed by the oracle to the Hercinian forest: to Bellovesus the gods showed a much more delightful route into Italy. He carried with him from the Biturigians, the Arvernians, the Senonians, the Æduans, the Ambarrians, the Carnutians, and the Aulercians, all their superfluous numbers: and setting out at the head of an immense body of horse and foot, arrived in the country of the Tricassinians. The Alps then stood in his way, which I do not wonder that these people should consider as impassable, having never been climbed over by any path, at least as far as we have been able to learn, unless we choose to believe the fables told of Hercules. Whilst the height of the mountains kept the Gauls penned up as it were, and while they were looking about for some route between those lofty summits which joined the sky, an ominous incident also gave them some delay:

for an account was brought to them, that some strangers, who had come in search of lands, were attacked by the nation of the Salyans: these were the Massilians who had come by sea from Phoecea.¹ The Gauls, considering this as prognostic of their own fortune, gave them their assistance, in fortifying the ground which they had first seized on their landing, covered with wide extended woods. They themselves climbed over the pathless Alps, through the forest of Taurinum, routed the Tuscans in battle, not far from the river Ticinus, and, hearing that the district in which they had posted themselves was called Insubria, the same name by which one of the cantons of the Insubrian Æduans was distinguished, they embraced the omen which the place presented, and founded there a city, which they called Mediolanum.

35. Some time after, another body, composed of the Cenomanians, under the conduct of Elitovius, following the tracks of the former, made their way over the Alps, through the same forest, Bellovesus favoring their march, and settled themselves where the cities Brixia and Verona now stand, places then possessed by the Libuans. After these came the Salluvians, who fixed their abode near the ancient canton of the Ligurians, called Lævi, who inhabited the banks of the Ticinus. The next who came over were the Boians and Lingonians, through the Penine pass, who, finding all the space between the Alps and the Po already occupied, crossed the Po on rafts, and drove out of the country, not only the Etrurians, but the Umbrians also. They confined themselves however within the Apennines. After them the Senonians, the latest of these emi-

¹ A city of Asia Minor, built by a colony of Athenians. Being besieged and hard pressed by Harpagus, an officer of Cyrus, king of Persia, the inhabitants resolved to abandon the town, and seek another residence. Accordingly, after uttering heavy imprecations on themselves, if they should ever return, they carried their effects on board their ships, and, sailing to the coast of Provence, founded the city of Marseilles.

grants, possessed themselves of the track which reaches from the river Utens to the *Æsis*. This latter people, I find, it was who came to Clusium, and from thence to Rome. But whether alone, or assisted by all the nations of Cisalpine Gauls, is not known with certainty. The Clusians, on observing so great a multitude, the appearance of the men too being different from any which they had seen before, and also the kind of arms which they carried, were terrified at the approach of this strange enemy; and having heard that the legions of the Etrurians had been often defeated by them, on both sides of the Po, determined, although they had no claim on the Romans, either in right of alliance or friendship, except that they had not protected their relations the Veientians in opposition to the Roman people, to send ambassadors to Rome to solicit aid from the senate; which request was not complied with. The three Fabii, sons of Ambustus, were sent to mediate with the Gauls in the name of the senate and commons of Rome; who recommended to them not to attack the allies and friends of the Roman people, from whom they had received no injury, and whom they would be obliged to support even by force of arms, if matters went so far; but who, at the same time, would be better pleased that hostile proceedings should be avoided if possible, and that their acquaintance with the Gauls, a nation to whom they were, as yet strangers, should commence in an amicable rather than in a hostile manner.

36. This was an embassy mild in its import, but intrusted to men of tempers too ferocious, more resembling Gauls than Romans. These, having explained their commission in an assembly of the Gauls, received for answer, that although this was the first time that they had heard the name of the Romans, yet they supposed that they were men of bravery, whose assistance the Clusians had implored in a conjuncture so perilous; and in consideration of their having chosen to interfere between their allies and them, in the way of negotiation, rather than that of arms, they would

make no objection to the amicable terms which they proposed, provided that the Clusians, who possessed a greater portion of land than they turned to use, would give up a part of it to the Gauls, who wanted it. 'On no other terms,' they said, 'was peace to be obtained : ' that they wished to receive an answer in presence of the Romans, and if the land were refused them, would also decide the matter by arms in the presence of the same Romans, that they might inform their countrymen how far the Gauls excelled the rest of mankind in bravery. The Romans asking, by what right they could demand land from the possessors, and in case of refusal threaten war ; and what concern the Gauls had in Etruria ? the others fiercely replied, that ' they carried their right on the points of their swords, and that all things were the property of the brave.' Thus, with minds inflamed on both sides, they hastily separated to prepare for battle, which began without delay. Here, fate now pressing the city of Rome, the ambassadors, contrary to the law of nations, took a part in the action : a fact which could not be concealed, for three of the noblest and bravest of the Roman youth fought in the van of the Etrurian army ; and the valor of these foreigners was eminently conspicuous. Besides, Quintus Fabius rode forward beyond the line, and slew a general of the Gauls, who was making a furious charge against the standards of the Etrurians, running him through the side with his spear. He was known by the Gauls while he was stripping him of his spoils ; on which notice was conveyed round through the whole army that he was one of the Roman ambassadors. Dropping therefore their resentment against the Clusians, they sounded a retreat, threatening to wreak their vengeance on the Romans. Some advised that they should march instantly to Rome. But the opinion of the elders prevailed ; that ambassadors should first be sent to complain of the ill treatment which they had received, and to demand that the Fabii should be delivered into their hands as a satisfaction for having violated the law of nations. When the am-

bassadors of the Gauls had explained those matters according to their commission, the senate were highly displeased at the behavior of the Fabii, and thought the demand of the barbarians just: but in the case of nobles of such exalted rank partial favor prevented their passing a decree conformable to their judgment. Lest therefore they might be chargeable with any misfortune, which might perhaps be sustained in a war with the Gauls, they referred the determination on the demands of the Gauls to the assembly of the people; where so prevalent was the influence of interest and wealth, that the very persons whose punishment was the subject of deliberation were appointed military tribunes with consular power for the ensuing year. At which proceeding the Gauls being justly enraged, and openly denouncing war, returned to their countrymen. Together with the three Fabii were appointed military tribunes [A. U. C. 365. B. C. 387] Quintus Sulpicius Longus, Quintus Servilius a fourth time, and Servius Cornelius Maluginensis.

37. When Fortune is determined on the ruin of a people she can so blind them as to render them insensible to danger, even of the greatest magnitude: accordingly the Roman state, which in its wars with the Fidenatians and Veientians and other neighboring enemies, had left no means untried to procure aid, and had, on many occasions, nominated a dictator; yet now, when an enemy whom they had never met, or even heard of, was from the ocean and the remotest coasts advancing in arms against them, they looked not for any extraordinary command or assistance. Tribunes, whose temerity had brought on the troubles, were intrusted with the reins of government, and they used no greater diligence in levying forces than was usual in case of a rupture with any of their neighbors, extenuating the importance which fame gave to the war. Meanwhile the Gauls, hearing that the violators of the rights of mankind had even been recompensed with honors, and that their embassy had been slighted, inflamed with anger, a passion which that nation knows

not how to control, instantly snatched up their ensigns, and began to march with the utmost expedition. When their precipitate movement caused such an alarm wherever they passed that the inhabitants of the cities ran together to arms, and the peasants betook themselves to flight, they signified to them by loud shouts, that it was to Rome they were going, while the space covered by their men and horses was immense, the troops spreading widely on every side. But report outstripped them; and messengers also from the Clusian, and from several other states, one after another, and the quickness of the enemy's proceedings caused the utmost consternation among the Romans, whose army, composed in a manner of tumultuary troops, with all the haste which they could make, scarce advanced so far as the eleventh stone before they met them, where the river Allia, running down from the Crustumian mountains in a very deep channel, joins the Tiber, a little way below the road. Already every place in front and on each side was occupied by numerous bodies of Gauls; and, as that nation has a natural turn for aggravating terror by confusion, by their harsh music and discordant clamors, they filled the air with a horrible din.

38. There the military tribunes, without having previously formed a camp, without the precaution of raising a rampart which might secure a retreat, regardless of duty to the gods, to say nothing of that to man, without taking auspices, without offering a sacrifice, drew up their line, which they extended on towards the flanks, lest they should be surrounded by the numerous forces of the enemy. Still they could not show an equal front, and at the same time thinned their line in such a manner, as weakened the centre, and left it scarce sufficient to fill up the ranks without a breach. There was a small eminence on the right, which they determined to occupy with a body of reserve; which measure, as it gave the first cause to their dismay and desertion of the field, so it proved the only means of

safety in their flight. Brennus, the chieftain of the Gauls, thinking that as his enemies were few, their skill was what he had chiefly to guard against, and supposing that the eminence had been seized with design, that when the Gauls should be engaged in front with the line of the legions, that reserved body might make an attack on their rear and flank, turned his force against the reserve, not doubting that if he could dislodge them from their post, his troops, so much superior in number, would find an easy victory in the plain: thus not only fortune, but judgment also stood on the side of the barbarians. In the opposite army there appeared nothing like Romans, either among the commanders or the soldiers. Terror and dismay had taken possession of their minds, and such a total unconcern for the rest of mankind, that greater numbers by far fled to Veii, a city of their enemy, though the Tiber lay across the way, than by the direct road to Rome, to their wives and children. The situation of the ground for some time defended the reserve; but those who composed the rest of the line, on their flank, and on their rear, no sooner heard the shout, than, not only without attempting to fight, but without even returning the shout, fresh as they were and unhurt, they ran away from an untried enemy, and at whom they had scarcely ventured to look. Thus no lives were lost in battle; but their rear was cut to pieces while they crowded on one another, in such hurry and confusion, as they retarded their retreat. Great slaughter was made on the bank of the Tiber, whither the whole left wing, after throwing away their arms, had directed their flight; and great numbers who knew not how to swim, or were not very strong, being burdened with their coats of mail and other defensive armor, were swallowed up in the current. However, the greatest part escaped safe to Veii, from whence they neither sent any reinforcement to Rome, nor even a courier to give notice of their defeat. Those of the right wing, which had been posted at a distance from the river,

near the foot of the mountain, all took the way to Rome, and without even shutting the gates of the city, made their way into the citadel.

39. On the other hand, the attainment of such a speedy, such an almost miraculous victory, astonished the Gauls. At first they stood motionless through apprehension for their own safety; scarcely knowing what had happened; then they dreaded some stratagem; at length they collected the spoils of the slain, and piled the arms in heaps, according to their practice. And now, seeing no sign of an enemy any where, they at last began to march forward, and a little before sunset arrived near the city of Rome, where receiving intelligence by some horsemen who had advanced before, that the gates were open without any troops posted to defend them, nor any soldiers on the walls, this second incident, not less unaccountable than the former, induced them to halt; and, apprehending danger from the darkness of the night, and their ignorance of the situation of the city, they took post between Rome and the Anio, sending scouts about the walls, and the several gates, to discover what plans the enemy would pursue in this desperate state of their affairs. The Roman soldiers who were living, their friends lamented as lost; the greater part of them having gone from the field of battle to Veii, and no one supposing that any survived, except those who had come home to Rome. In fine, the city was almost intirely filled with sorrowings. But on the arrival of intelligence that the enemy were at hand, the apprehensions excited by the public danger stifled all private sorrow: soon after, the barbarians patrolling about the walls in troops, they heard their yells and the dissonant clangor of their martial instruments. During the whole interval between this and the next morning they were held in the most anxious suspense, every moment expecting an assault to be made on the city. At the enemy's first approach it was supposed that they would begin the attack as soon as they should arrive at the city, since, if this were not

their intention, they would probably have remained at the Allia. Their fears were various and many; first, they imagined that the place would be instantly stormed, because there was not much of the day remaining; then that the design was put off until night, in order to strike the greater terror. At last, the approach of light sunk them in dismay, and the evil itself which they dreaded closed this scene of unremitted apprehension, the enemy marching through the gates in hostile array. During that night, however, and also the following day, the state preserved a character very different from that which such a dastardly flight at the Allia had indicated; for there being no room to hope that the city could possibly be defended by the small number of troops remaining, a resolution was taken that the young men who were fit to bear arms, and the abler part of the senate, with their wives and children, should go up into the citadel and the capitol; and having collected stores of arms and corn, should, in that strong post, maintain the defence of the deities, of the inhabitants, and of the honor of Rome. That the Flamen Quirinalis, and the vestal priestesses, should carry away, far from slaughter and conflagration all that appertained to the gods of the state; and that their worship should not be intermitted until there should be no one left to perform it. 'If the citadel, and the capitol, the mansion of the gods; if the senate, the source of public counsel; if the youth of military age should survive the ruin which impended over the city, they must deem the loss of the aged light, as of a crowd whom they were under the necessity of leaving behind, though with a certain prospect of their perishing.' That such of this deserted multitude as consisted of plebeians might bear their doom with the greater resignation, the aged nobles, formerly dignified with triumphal honors and consulships, openly declared that 'they would meet death along with them, and would not burden the scanty stores of the fighting men with bodies incapable of

carrying arms, and of protecting their country.' Such were the consolations addressed to each other by the aged who were destined to death. .

40. Their exhortations were then turned to the band of young men whom they escorted to the capitol and citadel, commending to their valor and youthful vigor the remaining fortune of their city, which, through the course of three hundred and sixty years had ever been victorious in all its wars. When those who carried with them every hope and every resource parted with the others, who had determined not to survive the capture and destruction of the city, the view which it exhibited was sufficient to call forth the liveliest feelings, the women at the same time running up and down in distraction, now following one party, then the other, asking their husbands and their sons to what fate they would consign them? All together formed such a picture of human woe as could admit of no aggravation. A great part, however, of the women followed their relations into the citadel, no one either hindering or inviting them; because, though the measure of lessening the number of useless persons in a siege might doubtless be advisable in one point of view, yet it was a measure of extreme inhumanity. The rest of the multitude, consisting chiefly of plebeians, for whom there was neither room on so small a hill, nor a possibility of support in so great a scarcity of corn, pouring out of the city in one continued train, repaired to the Janiculum. From thence some dispersed through the country, and others made their way to the neighboring cities, without any leader, or any concert, each pursuing his own hopes and his own plans, those of the public being deplored as desperate. In the mean time the Flamen Quirinalis, and the vestal virgins, laying aside all concern for their own affairs, and consulting together which of the sacred deposits they should take with them, and which they should leave behind, for they had not strength sufficient to carry all, and what place they could best depend on for preserving them in safe custody, judged it the most eligible method to

inclose them in casks, and to bury them under ground, in the chapel next to the dwelling-house of the Flamen Quirinalis, where at present it is reckoned profane even to spit. The rest they carried, distributing the burdens among themselves, along the road which leads over the Sublician bridge to the Janiculum. On the ascent of that hill Lucius Albinus, a Roman plebeian, was conveying away in a waggon his wife and children, but observing them among the crowd of those who being unfit for war were retiring from the city, and retaining, even in his present calamitous state, a regard to the distinction between things divine and human, he thought it would betray a want of respect to religion if the public priests of the Roman people were to go on foot, thus holily laden, whilst he and his family were seen mounted in a carriage; ordering his wife and children then to alight, he put the virgins and the sacred things into the waggon, and conveyed them to Cære, whither the priests had determined to go.

41. Meanwhile at Rome, when every disposition for the defence of the citadel had been completed, as far as was possible in such a conjuncture, the aged crowd withdrew to their houses, and there, with a firmness of mind not to be shaken by the approach of death, waited the coming of the enemy: such of them as had held curule offices choosing to die in that garb which displayed the emblems of their former fortune, of their honors, or of their merit, put on the most splendid robes worn, when they draw the chariots of the gods in procession, or ride in triumph. Thus habited, they seated themselves in their ivory chairs at the fronts of their houses. Some say that they devoted themselves for the safety of their country and their fellow-citizens; and that they sung a hymn on the occasion, Marcus Fabius, the chief pontiff, dictating the form of words to them. On the side of the Gauls, as the keenness of their rage, excited by the fight, had abated during the night, and; as they had neither met any dangerous opposition in the field, nor were now taking the city by storm or force, they marched next day, without.

any anger or any heat of passion, into the city, through the Colline gate, which stood open, and advanced to the forum, casting round their eyes on the temples of the gods, and on the citadel, the only place which had the appearance of making resistance. From thence, leaving a small guard to prevent any attack from the citadel or capitol, they ran about in quest of plunder. Not meeting a human being in the streets, part of them rushed in a body to the houses that stood nearest; part sought the most distant, as expecting to find them untouched and abounding with spoil. Afterwards, being frightened from thence by the very solitude, and fearing lest some secret design of the enemy might be put in execution against them while they were thus dispersed, they formed themselves into bodies, and returned again to the forum, and places adjoining to it. Finding the houses of the plebeians shut up, and the palaces of the nobles standing open, they showed rather greater backwardness to attack these that were open than such as were shut: with such a degree of veneration did they behold men sitting in the porches of those palaces, who, beside their ornaments and apparel, more splendid than became mortals, bore the nearest resemblances to gods, in the majesty displayed in their looks, and the gravity of their countenances. It is said, that while they stood gazing as on statues, one of them, Marcus Papirius, provoked the anger of a Gaul by striking him on the head with his ivory sceptre, while he was stroking his beard, which at that time was universally worn long; that the slaughter began with him, and that the rest were slain in their seats. The nobles being put to death, the remainder of the people met the same fate. The houses were plundered, and then set on fire.

42. However, whether it was that they were not all possessed with a desire of reducing the city to ruins, or whether the design had been adopted by the chiefs of the Gauls, that some fires should be presented to the view of the besieged for the purpose of terrifying them, and to try if they could be compelled to surren-

der, through affection to their own dwellings, or that they had determined that all the houses should not be burned down, because whatever remained they could hold as a pledge, by means of which they might work on the minds of the garrison, the fire did not, during the first day, spread extensively, as is usual in a captured city. The Romans, beholding the enemy from the citadel, who ran up and down through every street, while some new scene of horror arose to their view in every different quarter, were scarcely able to preserve their presence of mind. To whatever side the shouts of the enemy, the cries of women and children, the crackling from the flames, and the crash of falling houses called their attention, thither, deeply shocked at every incident, they turned their eyes, their thoughts, as if placed by fortune to be spectators of the fall of their country;—left, in short, not for the purpose of protecting any thing belonging to them, but merely their own persons, much more deserving of commiseration, indeed, than any before who were ever beleaguered; as by the siege which they had to sustain they were excluded from their native city, whilst they saw every thing which they held dear in the power of the enemy. Nor was the night which succeeded such a shocking day attended with more tranquillity. The morning appeared with an aspect equally dismal; nor did any portion of time relieve them from the sight of a constant succession of new distresses. Loaded and overwhelmed with such a multiplicity of evils, they notwithstanding remitted naught of their firmness; determined, though they should see every thing in flames, and levelled with the dust, to defend by their bravery the hill which they occupied, small and ill provided as it was, yet being the only refuge of their liberty. And as the same events recurred every day, they became so habituated, as it were, to disasters that, abstracting their thoughts as much as possible from their circumstances, they regarded the arms and the swords in their hands as their only hopes.

43. On the other side, the Gauls, having for several

days waged only an ineffectual war against the buildings, and perceiving that among the fires and ruins of the city nothing now remained but a band of armed enemies, who were neither terrified in the least, nor likely to treat of a capitulation unless force were applied, resolved to have recourse to extremities, and to make an assault on the citadel. On a signal given, at the first light, their whole multitude was marshalled in the forum, from whence, after raising the shout, and forming a testudo,¹ they advanced to the attack. The Romans in their defence did nothing rashly, nor in a hurry; but having strengthened the guards at every approach, and opposing the main strength of their men on the quarter where they saw the battalions advancing, they suffered them to mount the hill, judging that the higher they should ascend, the more easily they might be driven back down the steep. About the middle of the ascent they met; and there making their charge down the declivity, which of itself bore them against the enemy, routed the Gauls with such slaughter, and such destruction, occasioned by their falling down the precipice, that they never afterwards, either in parties, or with their whole force, made another trial of that kind of fight. Laying aside therefore the hope of effecting their approaches by force of arms, they resolved to form a blockade, for which, having never until this time thought of making provision, they were ill prepared. With the houses, all was consumed in the city; and in the course of the days they had passed there the produce of the country round about had been hastily carried off to Veii. Wherefore, dividing their forces, they determined that one part should be employed in plundering among the neighboring nations, while the other carried on the siege of the citadel, in order that the ravagers of the country might supply the besiegers with corn.

44. The party of Gauls which marched away from

¹ Forming themselves into a compact body, with their shields joined together, and held over their heads to protect them from the missile weapons of the enemy.

the city were conducted merely by the will of fortune, who chose to make a trial of Roman bravery, to Ardea, where Camillus dwelt in exile, pining in sorrow, and more deeply grieving at the distresses of the public, than at his own; accusing gods and men, burning with indignation, and wondering where were now those men who with him had taken Veii and Falerii; those men who, in other wars, had ever been more indebted to their own courage than to chance. Thus pondering, he heard, on a sudden, that the army of the Gauls was approaching, and that the people of Ardea in consternation were met in council on the subject. On which, as if moved by divine inspiration, he advanced into the midst of their assembly, having hitherto been accustomed to absent himself from such meetings, and said: 'People of Ardea, my friends of old, of late my fellow-citizens also, a relation encouraged by your kindness, and formed by my fortune; let not any of you imagine that my coming hither to your council is owing to my having forgotten my situation; but the present case, and the common danger, render it necessary that every one should contribute to the public every kind of assistance in his power. And when shall I repay so great obligations as I owe you, if I am now remiss? On what occasion can I ever be serviceable to you, if not in war? By my knowledge in that line I supported a character in my native country, and though never overcome by an enemy in war, I was banished in time of peace by my ungrateful countrymen. To you, men of Ardea, fortune has presented an opportunity of making a recompense for all the valuable favors which the Roman people have formerly conferred on you. How great these have been you yourselves remember; nor need I, who know you to be grateful, remind you of them. At the same time you may acquire, for this your city, a high degree of military renown, by acting against the common enemy. The nation, which is now approaching in a disorderly march, is one to whom nature has given minds and bodies of

greater size than strength: for which reason they bring to every contest more of terror than of real vigor. The disaster of Rome may serve as a proof of this; they took the city, when every avenue lay open; but still a small band in the citadel and capitol are able to withstand them. Already tired of the slow proceedings of the siege, they retire and spread themselves over the face of the country. When gorged by food, and greedy draughts of wine, as soon as night comes on they stretch themselves promiscuously, like brutes, near streams of water, without intrenchment, and without either guards or advanced posts; using, at present, in consequence of success, still less caution than usual. If it is your wish to defend your own walls, and not to suffer all this part of the world to become a province of Gaul, take arms unanimously at the first watch. Follow me, to kill, not to fight. If I do not deliver them into your hands, overpowered with sleep, to be slaughtered like cattle, I am content to meet the same issue of my affairs at Ardea which I found at Rome.'

45. Every one who heard him had long been possessed with an opinion that there was not any where in that age a man of equal talents for war. The meeting then being dismissed, they took some refreshment, and waited with impatience for the signal to be given. As soon as that was done, during the stillness of the beginning of the night, they attended Camillus at the gates: they had not marched far from the city when they found the camp of the Gauls, as had been foretold, unguarded and neglected on every side, and, raising a shout, attacked it. There was no fight any where, but slaughter every where: being naked and surprised in sleep, they were easily cut to pieces. However, those who lay most remote, being roused from their beds, and not knowing how or by whom the tumult was occasioned, were by their fears directed to flight, and some of them even into the midst of the enemy, before they perceived their mistake. A great number, flying into the territory of Antium,

were attacked on their straggling march by the inhabitants of that city, surrounded and cut off. A like carnage was made of the Tuscans in the territory of Veii; for they were so far from feeling compassion for a city which had been their neighbor now near four hundred years, and which had been overpowered by a strange and unheard of enemy, that they made incursions at that very time on the Roman territory; and, after loading themselves with booty, purposed even to lay siege to Veii, the bulwark, and the last remaining hope of the whole Roman race. The soldiers there, who had seen them straggling over the country, and also collected in a body, driving the prey before them, now perceived their camp pitched at no great distance from Veii. At first, their minds were filled with melancholy reflections on their own situation; then with indignation, afterwards with rage. 'Must their misfortunes,' they said, 'be mocked even by the Etrurians, from whom they had drawn off the Gallic war on themselves?' Scarce could they curb their passions so far as to refrain from attacking them that instant; but, being restrained by Quintus Cædicius, a centurion, whom they had appointed their commander, they consented to defer it until night. The action which ensued wanted nothing to render it equal to the former, except that it was not conducted by a general equal to Camillus: in every other respect the course of events was the same, and the issue equally fortunate. Not content with this blow, but taking as guides some prisoners who had escaped the slaughter, and advancing to Salinæ against another body of Tuscans, they surprised them on the night following, slew a still greater number, and then returned to Veii, exulting in their double victory.

46. Meanwhile at Rome the siege, in general, was carried on slowly, and both parties lay quiet; for the attention of the Gauls was solely employed in preventing any of the enemy escaping from between their posts; when on a sudden, a Roman youth drew on himself the attention and admiration both of his coun-

trymen and the enemy. There was a sacrifice always solemnised by the Fabian family at stated times on the Quirinal hill: to perform which, Caius Fabius Dorso having come down from the capitol, dressed in the form called the Gabine cincture, and carrying in his hands the sacred utensils requisite for the ceremony, passed out through the midst of the enemy's posts, without being moved in the least by any of their calls or threats. He proceeded to the Quirinal hill, and, after duly performing there the solemn rites, returned by the same way, preserving the same firmness in his countenance and gait, confident of the protection of the gods, whose worship even the fear of death had not power to make him neglect, and came back to his friends in the capitol, while the Gauls were either held motionless with astonishment at his amazing confidence, or moved by considerations of religion, of which that nation is by no means regardless. Meanwhile, those at Veii found not only their courage, but their strength also increasing daily. Not only such of the Romans repaired thither, who, in consequence either of the defeat in the field, or of the disaster of the city being taken, had been dispersed in various parts, but volunteers also flowed in from Latium, with a view to share in the spoil; so that it now seemed high time to attempt the recovery of their native city, and rescue it out of the hands of the enemy. But this strong body wanted a head: the spot where they stood reminded them of Camillus, a great number of the soldiers having fought with success under his banners and auspices. Besides, Cædicus declared that he would not take any part which might afford occasion, either for god or man, to take away his command; but rather, mindful of his own rank, would himself insist on the appointment of a general. With universal consent it was resolved that Camillus should be invited from Ardea; but that first the senate at Rome should be consulted; so carefully did they regulate every proceeding by a regard to propriety, and though in circumstances nearly desperate, maintain the distinc-

tions of the several departments of government. It was necessary to pass through the enemy's guards, which could not be effected without the utmost danger. A spirited youth called Pontius Cominius offered himself for the undertaking, and supporting himself on pieces of cork, was carried down the stream of the Tiber to the city. From thence, where the distance from the bank was shortest, he made his way into the capitol over a part of the rock which was very steep and craggy, and therefore neglected by the enemy's guards; and being conducted to the magistrates, delivered the message of the army. Then having received a decree of the senate, that Camillus should both be recalled from exile in an assembly of the curias, and instantly nominated dictator by order of the people, and that the soldiers should have the general whom they wished, going out by the same way, he proceeded with his dispatches to Veii; from whence deputies were sent to Ardea to Camillus, who conducted him to Veii: or else, the law was passed by the curians, and he was nominated dictator in his absence; for I am inclined to believe that he did not set out from Ardea until he found that this was done, because he could neither change his residence without an order of the people, nor hold the privilege of the auspices in the army, until he was nominated dictator.

47. Thus they were employed at Veii, whilst, in the mean time, the citadel and capitol at Rome were in the utmost danger. The Gauls either perceived the track of a human foot, where the messenger from Veii had passed; or, from their own observation, had remarked the easy ascent at the rock of Carmentis: on a moonlight night therefore, having first sent forward a person unarmed to make trial of the way, handing their arms to those before them; when any difficulty occurred, supporting and supported in turns, and drawing each other up according as the ground required, they climbed to the summit in such silence, that they not only escaped the notice of the guards, but did not even alarm the dogs, animals particularly watchful with re-

gard to any noise at night. They were not unperceived however by some geese, which, being sacred to Juno, the people had spared, even in the present great scarcity of food ; a circumstance to which they owed their preservation ; for by the cackling of these creatures, and the clapping of their wings, Marcus Manlius was roused from sleep—a man of distinguished character in war, who had been consul the third year before ; and snatching up his arms, and at the same time calling to the rest to do the same, he hastened to the spot : where, while some ran about in confusion, he by a stroke with the boss of his shield tumbled down a Gaul who had already got footing on the summit ; and this man's weight, as he fell, throwing down those who were next, he slew several others, who in their consternation threw away their arms, and caught hold of the rocks, to which they clung. By this time many of the garrison had assembled at the place, who by throwing javelins and stones, beat down the enemy, so that the whole band, unable to keep either their hold or footing, were hurled down the precipice in promiscuous ruin. The alarm then subsiding, the remainder of the night was given to repose, as much at least as could be enjoyed after such perturbation, when the danger, though past, kept up the agitation of people's minds. As soon as day appeared, the soldiers were summoned, by sound of trumpet, to attend the tribunes in assembly, when due recompense was to be made both to merit and demerit. Manlius was first of all commended for the bravery which he had displayed, and was presented with gifts, not only by the military tribunes, but by the soldiers universally ; for every one carried to his house, which was in the citadel, a contribution of half a pound of corn and half a pint of wine—a present which appears trifling in the relation, yet the scarcity which prevailed rendered it a very strong proof of esteem, since each man contributed, in honor of a particular person, a portion subtracted from his necessary supplies. Those who had been on guard at the place where the enemy climbed up unobserved

were now cited; and though Quintus Sulpicius, military tribune, had declared that he would punish every man according to the rules of military discipline, yet being deterred by the unanimous remonstrances of the soldiers, who threw all the blame on one particular man of the guard, he spared the rest. The one who was manifestly guilty he, with the approbation of all, threw down from the rock. From this time forth the guards on both sides became more vigilant: on the side of the Gauls, because a rumor spread that messengers passed between Veii and Rome; and on that of the Romans, from their recollection of the danger to which they had been exposed in the night.

48. But beyond all the evils of the war and the siege, famine distressed both armies. To which was added on the side of the Gauls a pestilential disorder, occasioned by their lying encamped in low ground surrounded with hills, which, besides having been heated by the burning of the buildings, and filled with exhalations, when the wind rose ever so little, sent up not only ashes but embers. These inconveniences that nation, of all others, is the worst qualified to endure, as being accustomed to cold and moisture. In a word, they suffered so severely from the heat and suffocation, that they died in great numbers, disorders spreading as among a herd of cattle. And now growing weary of the trouble of burying separately, they gathered the bodies in heaps promiscuously, and burned them, and this rendered the place remarkable by the name of the Gallic piles. A truce was now made with the Romans, and conferences held with permission of the commanders: in which, when the Gauls frequently made mention of the famine to which the former were reduced, and thence inferred the necessity of their surrendering, it is said, that in order to remove this opinion, bread was thrown from the Capitol into their advanced posts, though the famine could scarcely be dissembled or endured any longer. But whilst the dictator was employed in person in levying forces at Ardea, in sending his master of the horse, Lucius Va-

lerius, to bring up the troops from Veli, and in making such preparations and arrangements as would enable him to attack the enemy on equal terms, the garrison of the capitol was worn down with the fatigue of guards and watches. They had hitherto stood superior to all evils, yet famine was one which nature would not allow to be overcome, so that looking out day after day for some assistance from the dictator, and at last, not only provisions, but hope failing, their arms, in the course of relieving the guards, at the same time almost weighing down their feeble bodies, they insisted that either a surrender should be made, or the enemy bought off on such terms as could be obtained; for the Gauls had given plain intimations that for a small compensation they might be induced to relinquish the siege. The senate then met, and the military tribunes were commissioned to conclude a capitulation. The business was afterwards managed in a conference between Quintus Sulpicius, a military tribune, and Brennus, the chieftain of the Gauls, and a thousand pounds weight of gold¹ was fixed as the ransom of that people, who were afterwards to be rulers of the world. To a transaction so very humiliating in itself insult was added. False weights were brought by the Gauls, and on the tribune objecting to them, the insolent Gaul threw in his sword in addition to the weights, and was heard to utter an expression intolerable to Roman ears, 'wo to the vanquished.'

49. But both gods and men stood forth to prevent the Romans living under the disgrace of being ransomed: for, very fortunately, before the abominable payment was completed, the whole quantity of gold being not yet weighed in consequence of the altercation, the dictator came up to the spot, ordered the gold to be carried away from thence, and the Gauls to clear the place. And when they made opposition, and insisted on the agreement, he affirmed that such an agreement could have no validity, being made after he

¹ 45,000*l*.

had been created dictator, without his order, by a magistrate of subordinate authority ; and he gave notice to the Gauls to prepare for battle. His own men he ordered to throw their baggage in a heap, to get ready their arms, and to recover their country with steel, not with gold ; having before their eyes the temples of the gods, their wives and children, the site of their native city disfigured with rubbish through the calamities of war, and every object which they were bound by the strongest duties to defend, to recover, and to revenge. He then drew up his forces for battle, as far as the nature of the ground would allow, on the site of the half-demolished city, which was in itself naturally uneven, having made every previous arrangement and preparation which could be suggested by knowledge in war, to secure all possible advantages to himself. The Gauls, alarmed at this unexpected event, took up arms, and with more rage than conduct rushed on the Romans. Fortune had now changed sides ; and both divine favor and human wisdom aided the Roman cause. At the first onset therefore the Gauls were put to the route with no greater difficulty than they had themselves found when they gained the victory at the Allia. They were afterwards defeated, under the conduct and auspices of the same Camillus, in a more regular engagement at the eighth stone on the Sabine road, where they rallied after their flight. Here the slaughter was immense ; their camp was taken, and not even a single person left to carry the news of the defeat. The dictator, having thus recovered his country from the enemy, returned in triumph, and among the rough jokes which the soldiers throw out on such occasions, received the appellations of a Romulus, a second founder of the city—praises certainly not unmerited. His country thus saved by arms, he evidently saved it a second time in peace, when he hindered the people from removing to Veii, a scheme pressed by the tribunes with greater earnestness after the burning of the city, and which the commons, or themselves were then more inclined to pursue ; and for

that reason he did not resign the dictatorship immediately after his triumph, being intreated by the senate not to leave the commonwealth in that unsettled state.

50. The first business which he laid before the senate was that which respected the immortal gods; for he was remarkably attentive to all matters in which religion was concerned. He procured a decree of senate, that 'all the temples having been in possession of the enemy should be restored, their bounds traced, and expiation made for them, and that the form of expiation should be sought in the books by the duumvirs. That a league of hospitality should be formed by public authority with the people of Cære, because they had afforded a reception to the sacred utensils, and to the priests of the Roman people; and because to the kindness of that nation it was owing that the worship of the immortal gods had not been intermitted; that Capitoline games should be exhibited in honor of Jupiter, supremely good and great, for having, in time of danger, protected his own mansion and the citadel of Rome; and that a certain number of citizens, for the due performance thereof, should be incorporated by the dictator, out of those who resided in the capitol and fort.' Mention was also introduced of expiating the voice which had been heard by night, giving notice of the calamity before the Gallic war, and which had been neglected; and an order was made that a temple should be erected to Aius Locutius, in the new street. The gold which had been rescued from the Gauls, and also what had been, during the hurry of the alarm, carried from the other temples into the recess of Jupiter's temple, was altogether judged to be sacred, and ordered to be deposited under the throne of Jupiter, because no one could recollect to what temples it ought to be returned. The state had before this manifested a high regard to religion, in accepting a contribution of gold from the matrons, when the public fund was found insufficient to make up the sum stipulated to be paid to the Gauls, rather than meddle with the sacred gold. To the matrons public thanks were given, and also the

privilege of having funeral orations delivered in honor of them on their death, the same as on that of the men. When he had finished such business as respected the gods, and such as could be determined by the authority of the senate, and as the tribunes never ceased teasing the commons in their harangues to abandon the ruins, and remove to Veii, a city ready for their reception; being attended by the whole body of the senate, he mounted the tribunal and spoke to this effect.

51. 'Romans, so strong is my aversion from holding contentions with the tribunes of the people, that while I resided at Ardea, I had no other consolation in my melancholy exile than that I was at a distance from such contests; and, on account of these, I was fully determined never to return, even though you should recall me by a decree of senate and order of the people. Nor was it any change of my sentiments which induced me now to revisit Rome, but the situation of your affairs: for the point in question was, not whether I should reside in my native land, but whether that land (if I may so express myself) should keep in its own established seat? And on the present occasion most willingly would I remain silent, did not this struggle also affect the essential interests of my country; to be wanting to which, as long as life remains, were base in others, in Camillus infamous: for to what purpose have we labored its recovery? Why have we rescued it out of the hands of the enemy? After it has been recovered, shall we voluntarily desert it? Notwithstanding that the capitol and citadel continued to be held and inhabited by the gods and the natives of Rome, even when the Gauls were victorious, and in possession of the whole city; notwithstanding that the Romans are now the victors; shall that capitol and citadel be abandoned with all the rest, and our prosperity become the cause of greater desolation than our adversity was? In truth, if we had no religious institutions which were founded together with the city, and regularly handed down from one generation to another; yet the divine power has been

so manifestly displayed at this time in favor of the Roman affairs, that I should think all disposition to be negligent in paying due honor to the gods effectually removed from the minds of men: for, take a review of the transactions of these latter years in order,—prosperous and adverse,—you will find that in every instance prosperity constantly attended submission to the immortals, and adversity the neglect of them. To begin with the war of Veii: for what a number of years, and with what an immensity of labor, was it carried on? Yet it could not be brought to a conclusion until, in obedience to the admonition of the gods, the water was discharged from the Alban lake. Consider, did this unparalleled train of misfortunes, which ruined our city, commence until the voice sent from heaven, concerning the approach of the Gauls, had been disregarded, until the laws of nations had been violated by our ambassadors; and until we, with the same indifference towards the deities, passed over that crime which we were bound to punish? Vanquished, therefore, made captives, and ransomed, we have suffered such punishments at the hands of gods and men, as render us a warning to the whole world. After this, our misfortunes again reminded us of our duty to the heavens. We fled for refuge into the capitol, to the mansion of Jupiter, supremely good and great. The sacred utensils, amidst the ruin of our own properties, we partly concealed in the earth, partly conveyed out of the enemy's sight, to the neighboring cities. Abandoned by gods and men, yet we did not intermit the sacred worship. The consequence was, they restored us to our country, to victory, and to our former renown in war, which we had forfeited; and, on the heads of the enemy, who, blinded by avarice, broke the faith of a treaty in respect to the weight of the gold, they turned dismay, and flight, and slaughter.

52. 'When you reflect on these strong instances of the powerful effects produced on the affairs of men by their either honoring or neglecting the deity, do you not perceive, Romans, what an act of impiety we are

about to perpetrate ; even in the very moment of emerging from the wreck and ruin which followed our former misconduct ? We are in possession of a city built under the direction of auspices and auguries, in which there is not a spot but is full of gods and religious rites. The days of the anniversary sacrifices are not more precisely stated than are the places where they are to be performed. All these gods, both public and private, do you intend, Romans, to forsake ? What similitude does your conduct bear to that, which lately, during the siege, was beheld with no less admiration by the enemy than by yourselves, in that excellent youth Caius Fabius, when he went down from the citadel through the midst of Gallic weapons, and performed on the Quirinal hill the anniversary rites pertaining to the Fabian family ? Is it your opinion that the religious performances of particular families should not be intermitted, though war obstruct, but that the public rites and the Roman gods should be forsaken even in time of peace ; and that the pontiffs and flamens should be more negligent of those rites of religion than was a private person ? Some perhaps may say, we will perform these at Veii ; we will send our priests thither for that purpose : but this cannot be done without an infringement of the established forms. Even in the case of the feast of Jupiter, (not to enumerate all the several gods, and all the different kinds of sacred rites,) can the ceremonies of the lectisternium be performed in any other place than the capitol ? What shall I say of the eternal fire of Vesta, and of the statue, that pledge of empire which is kept under the safeguard of her temple ? What, O Mars Gradivus, and thou, Father Quirinus, of thy ancilia ?¹ Is it right that those sacred

¹ *Ancile*, a shield, supposed to be of the god Mars, said to have fallen from heaven in the reign of Numa. It was deposited in the sanctuary, and kept with great care by the priests of Mars, called Salii. Being considered as a symbol of the perpetual duration of the empire, to prevent its being stolen, eleven others were made exactly resembling it, and laid up with it.

things, coeval with the city, nay some of them more ancient than the city itself, should all be abandoned to profanation? Now, observe the difference between us and our ancestors. They handed down to us certain sacred rites to be performed on the Alban, and on the Lavinian mounts. Was it then deemed not offensive to the gods that such rites should be brought to Rome, and from the cities of our enemies; and shall we, without impiety, remove them from hence to an enemy's city, to Veii? Recollect, I beseech you, how often sacred rites are performed anew, because some particular ceremony of our country has been omitted through negligence or accident. In a late instance, what other matter, after the prodigy of the Alban lake, proved a remedy for the distresses brought on the commonwealth by the war of Veii, but the repetition of them, and the renewal of the auspices? But besides, as if zealously attached to religious institutions, we have brought not only foreign deities to Rome, but have established new ones. It was but the other day that imperial Juno was removed hither from Veii; and with what a crowded attendance was her dedication on the Aventine celebrated? And how greatly was it distinguished by the extraordinary zeal of the matrons? We have passed an order for the erecting of a temple to *Aius Locutius*, in the new street, out of regard to the heavenly voice which was heard there. To our other solemnities we have added Capitoline games, and have, by direction of the senate, founded a new college for the performance thereof. Where was there occasion for any of these institutions, if we were to abandon the city at the same time with the Gauls; if it was against our will that we resided in the capitol for the many months that the siege continued; if it was through a motive of fear that we suffered ourselves to be confined there by the enemy? Hitherto we have spoken of the sacred rites and the temples, what are we now to say of the priests? Does it not occur to you, what a degree of profaneness would be committed with respect to them? For the vestals have but that one residence, from which nothing ever disturbed them, except the capture of the city. It is

deemed impious if the Flamen Dialis remain one night out of the city. Do you intend to make them Veientian priests instead of Roman? And, O Vesta, shall thy virgins forsake thee? And shall the flamen, by foreign residence, draw every night on himself and the commonwealth so great a load of guilt? What shall we say of other kinds of business which we necessarily transact under auspices, and almost all within the *Pomerium*? To what oblivion, or to what neglect, are we to consign them? The assemblies of the *curias*, which have the regulation of military affairs, the assemblies of the centuries, in which you elect consuls and military tribunes; where can they be held under auspices, except in the accustomed place? Shall we transfer these to Veii? Or shall the people, in order to hold their meetings, lawfully crowd together here, with so great inconvenience, and into a city deserted by gods and men?

53. ' But it is urged that the case itself compels us to leave a city desolated by fire and ruin, and remove to Veii, where every thing is intire, and not to distress the needy commons by building here. Now I think, Romans, it must be evident to most of you, though I should not say a word on the subject, that this is but a pretext held out to serve a purpose, and not the real motive: for you remember that this scheme of our removing to Veii was agitated before the coming of the Gauls, when the buildings, both public and private, were unhurt, and when the city stood in safety. Observe, then, tribunes, the difference between my way of thinking and yours. You are of opinion, that even though it were not advisable to remove at that time, yet it is plainly expedient now. On the contrary, and be not surprised at what I say until you hear my reasons, even allowing that it had been advisable so to do, when the whole city was in a state of safety, I would not vote for leaving these ruins now. At that time, removing into a captured city from a victory obtained, had been a cause glorious to us and our posterity; but now, it would be wretched and dishonorable to us, while it would be glorious to the Gauls: for we shall

appear not to have left our country in consequence of our successes, but from being vanquished; and by the flight at the Allia, the capture of the city, and the blockade of the capitol, to have been obliged to forsake our dwelling, and fly from a place which we had not strength to defend. And have the Gauls been able to demolish Rome, and shall the Romans be deemed unable to restore it? What remains, then, but that you allow them to come with new forces, for it is certain they have numbers scarcely credible, and make it their choice to dwell in this city, once captured by them, and now forsaken by you? What would you think, if, not the Gauls, but your old enemies the Æquans or Volscians, should form the design of removing to Rome? Would you be willing that they should become Romans, and you Veientians? Or would you that this should be either a desert in your possession, or a city in that of the enemy? Any thing more impious I really cannot conceive. Is it out of aversion from the trouble of rebuilding that you are ready to incur such guilt and such disgrace? Supposing that there could not be erected a better or more ample structure than that cottage of our founder, were it not more desirable to dwell in cottages, after the manner of shepherds and rustics, in the midst of your sacred places and tutelary deities, than to have the commonwealth go into exile? Our forefathers, a body of uncivilised strangers, when there was nothing in these places but woods and marshes, erected a city in a very short time. Do we, though we have the capitol and citadel safe, and the temples of the gods standing, think it too great a labor to rebuild one that has been burned? What each particular man would have done, if his house had been destroyed by fire, should the whole of us refuse, in the case of a general conflagration?

54. ' Let me ask you, if, through some ill design or accident, a fire should break out at Veii, and the flames being spread by the wind, as might be the case, should consume a great part of the city; must we seek Fidene, or Gabii, or some other city, to remove to? Has our

native soil so slight a hold of our affections; and this earth, which we call our mother? Or does our love for our country extend no farther than the surface, and the timber of the houses? I assure you, for I will confess it readily, that during the time of my absence, (which I am less willing to recollect, as the effect of ill treatment from you, than of my own hard fortune,) as often as my country came into my mind, every one of these circumstances occurred to me; the hills, the plains, the Tiber, the face of the country to which my eyes had been accustomed, and the sky, under which I had been born and educated; and it is my wish, Romans, that these may now engage you, by the ties of affection, to remain to your own established settlements, rather than hereafter prove the cause of your pining away in anxious regret at having left them. Not without good reason did gods and men select this spot for the building of Rome, where are most healthful hills, a commodious river, whose stream brings down the produce of the interior countries, while it opens a passage for foreign commerce; the sea, so near as to answer every purpose of convenience, yet at such a distance as not to expose it to danger from the fleets of foreigners; and in the centre of the regions of Italy, a situation singularly adapted by its nature to promote the increase of a city. Of this the very size, as it was, must be held a demonstration. Romans, this present year is the three hundred and sixty-fifth of the city; during so long a time you have been engaged in war, in the midst of nations of the oldest standing: yet, not to mention single nations, neither the Æquans in conjunction with the Volscians, who possess so many and so strong towns, nor the whole body of Etruria, possessed of such extensive power by land and sea, and occupying the whole breadth of Italy, from one sea to the other, have shown themselves equal to you in war. This being the case, where can be the wisdom in making trial of a change, when, though your valor might accompany you in your removal to another place, the fortune of this spot could not certainly be trans-

ferred? Here is the capitol, where a human head being formerly found, it was foretold that in that spot should be the head of the world, and the seat of sovereign empire. Here, when the capitol was to be cleared by the rites of augury, Juventas and Terminus, to the very great joy of our fathers, suffered not themselves to be moved. Here is the fire of Vesta, here the ancilia sent down from heaven, here all the gods, and they, too, propitious to your stay.' Camillus is said to have affected them much by other parts of his discourse, but particularly by that which related to religious matters. But still the affair remained in suspense, until an accidental expression, seasonably uttered, determined it: for in a short time after this, the senate sitting on this business in the Curia Hostilia, it happened that some cohorts, returning from relieving the guards, passed through the forum in their march, when a centurion in the comitium called out, 'Standard-bearer, fix your standard. It is best for us to stay here.' On hearing which expression, the senate, coming forth from the Curia, called out with one voice that 'they embraced the omen;' and the surrounding crowd of commons joined their approbation. The proposed law being then rejected, they set about rebuilding the city in all parts at once. Tiles were supplied at the public expense, and liberty granted to hew stones and fell timber, wherever each person chose, security being taken for their completing the edifices within the year. Their haste took away all attention to the regulation of the course of the streets: for, setting aside all regard to distinction of property, they built on any spot which they found vacant: and that is the reason that the old sewers, which at first were conducted under the public streets, do now, in many places, pass under private houses, and that the form of the city appears as if force alone had directed the distribution of the lots.

BOOK VI.

CHAP. 1. IN the five preceding books I have exhibited a view of the affairs of the Romans, from the building of the city of Rome until its capture [A.U.C. 365. B.C. 387] under the government, first, of kings, then of consuls and dictators, decemvirs, and consular tribunes: their foreign wars, and domestic dissensions: matters involved in obscurity, not only by reason of their great antiquity, like objects placed at such a distance as to be scarcely discernible by the eye; but also because that, in those times, the use of letters, the only faithful guardian of the memory of events, was very rare. And besides, whatever information might have been contained in the commentaries of the pontiffs, and other public or private records, it was almost intirely lost in the burning of the city. Henceforward, from the second origin of Rome, from whence, as from its root, receiving new life, it sprung up with redoubled health and vigor, I shall be able to give the relation of its affairs, both civil and military, with more clearness and certainty. Now, after its restoration, it leaned still, for principal support, on the same instrument which had raised it from ruin, Marcus Furius Camillus. Nor did the people suffer him to lay aside the dictatorship before the end of that year. It was judged improper that the tribunes, during whose administration the city had been taken, should preside at the elections for the year ensuing, and an interregnum was resolved on. While the public were kept diligently employed in repairing the city, Quintus Fabius, as soon as he went out of office, had a prosecution instituted against him by Caius Marcius, a tribune of the commons, for having, while in the character of ambassador, contrary to the law of nations, acted in arms against the Gauls, with whom he had been sent as a minister to negotiate: he escaped standing his trial by a death so opportune,

that most people believed it voluntary. The interregnum commenced. Publius Cornelius Scipio was interrex; and after him Marcus Furius Camillus a second time. [A. U. C. 366. B. C. 386.] He elected military tribunes with consular power, Lucius Valerius Poplicola a second time, Lucius Virginus, Publius Cornelius, Aulus Manlius, Lucius Æmilius, and Lucius Postumius. These, entering on office immediately on the conclusion of the interregnum, consulted the senate on no other business previous to that which related to religion. They ordered, in the first place, that a collection should be made of the treaties and laws which could be found. The latter consisted of the twelve tables, and some laws enacted by the kings. Some of these were publicly promulgated; but such as related to religious matters were kept secret, chiefly through means of the pontiffs, that they might hold the minds of the multitude in bondage. They next turned their deliberations to those days which were to be accounted displeasing to the gods; and the fifteenth day of the calends of August was distinguished by an order, that on that unfortunate day no public or private business whatever should be transacted: it was deemed doubly unfortunate: for on that day the Fabii were slain at Cremera; and afterwards, on the same day, the fatal battle of Allia, which effected the destruction of the city, was fought: from the latter disaster it was denominated the Allian day. Some are of opinion that, because, on the day following the ides of July, Sulpicius, when military tribune, had neglected to perform the rites of the augury, and, without being assured of the favor of the gods, had on the third day after exposed the Roman army to the enemy, it was ordained that the days following the calends and the nones should also be accounted equally inauspicious.

2. But it was not long allowed them to consult in quiet on the means of raising up the city, after such a grievous fall. On one side their old enemy, the Volscians, had taken arms, resolved to extinguish the Roman name; and, on the other, according to intelli-

gence received from certain traders, a conspiracy of the leading men, from all the several states of Etruria, had been formed at the temple of Voltumna, for the purpose of commencing hostilities. To which was added a new cause of apprehension, by the defection of the Latines and Hernicians, who, ever since the battle fought at the lake Regillus, during the course of near a hundred years, had continued in friendship with the Roman people, without ever giving reason to doubt their fidelity. Wherefore, when such alarms started up on every side, and all men plainly perceived that the Roman name was not only loaded with hatred among their enemies, but also with contempt among their allies, it was determined that the defence of the commonwealth should be conducted by the same auspices which had effected its recovery, and that Marcus Furius Camillus should be nominated dictator. On being invested with that office, he appointed Caius Servilius Ahala master of the horse; and, proclaiming a cessation of civil business, made a levy of the younger citizens, at the same time administering the oath of obedience to such of the elders also as retained any considerable degree of strength, and inrolling them among the troops. The army, thus enlisted and armed, he divided into three parts; one division he opposed to the Etrurians, in the Veientian territories; another he ordered to encamp near the city; the latter were commanded by Aulus Manlius, military tribune; those who were sent against the Etrurians, by Lucius Æmilius. The third division he led in person against the Volscians, and prepared to assault their camp at a place called Admarcium, near Lanuvium. Their inducement to begin this war was, a belief that almost the whole Roman youth were cut off by the Gauls; nevertheless, on hearing that the command was given to Camillus, they were struck with such terror that they fenced themselves with a rampart, which they farther secured with trees piled on each other, that the enemy might find no pass by which they could enter the works. As soon as Camillus saw the nature of this defence, he

ordered it to be set on fire: a high wind blowing at the time towards the enemy, the flames quickly opened a passage, which, together with the heat, the smoke, and the cracking of the green timber in burning, filled them with such consternation, that the Romans found less difficulty in climbing over the rampart into the Volscian camp than they had met in making their way across the fence, after it was consumed by the flames. The enemy being routed and put to the sword, the dictator, as he had taken the camp by assault, gave the spoil to the soldiers; a present the more acceptable to them, the less hopes they had conceived of it, from a commander by no means inclined to profuse generosity. Proceeding then in pursuit of those who fled, by intirely wasting every part of their lands, he at length, in the seventieth year, reduced the Volscians to submission. After subduing the Volscians, he marched against the Æquans, who likewise had begun hostilities; surprised their army at Bolæ, and, having attacked not only their camp, but their city also, carried both at the first onset.

3. While such fortune attended the operations on that side where Camillus, the life of the Roman affairs, was employed, a violent alarm had fallen on another quarter: for the Etrurians, having taken arms with almost their intire force, laid siege to Sutrium, a place in alliance with the Roman people, whose ambassadors, having applied to the senate, imploring aid in their distress, obtained a decree that the dictator should, as soon as possible, carry assistance to the Sutrians. But the circumstances of the besieged not permitting them to wait the issue of their hopes from that quarter, the townsmen being quite spent with labor, watching, and wounds, which, through the smallness of their number, fell continually on the same persons, they gave up the city to the enemy by capitulation; and, being discharged without arms, with only a single garment each, were leaving their habitations in a miserable train, when, at

the very juncture, Camillus happened to come up at the head of the Roman army. The mournful crowd prostrated themselves at his feet, and their leaders addressed him in a speech dictated by extreme necessity, and seconded by the lamentations of the women and children, who were dragged into exile with them: on which he bade the Sutrians cease their lamentations, for he was come 'to turn mourning and tears to the side of the Etrurians.' He then ordered the baggage to be deposited, the Sutrians to remain there with a small guard, which he left, and the soldiers to follow him in arms: then, advancing to Sutrium, with his troops freed from incumbrance, he found, as he expected, every thing in disorder, the usual consequence of success; no advanced guard before the walls, the gates open, and the conquerors dispersed, carrying out the booty from the houses of their enemies; Sutrium therefore was taken a second time on the same day. The Etrurians, lately victorious, were cut to pieces in every quarter by this new enemy; nor was time given them to assemble together and form a body, or even to take up arms. They then pushed hastily toward the gates, in order, if possible, to throw themselves out into the fields, when they found them shut, for such had been the dictator's order at the beginning. On this, some took arms; others, who happened to be in arms before the tumult began, called their friends together to make battle, and a warm engagement would have been kindled by the despair of the enemy, had not criers been sent through every part of the city, with orders to proclaim that 'they should lay down their arms; that the unarmed should be spared, and no injury done to any but those who made opposition.' On which, even those who had been most resolutely bent on fighting, when their situation was desperate, now that hopes of life were given, threw down their arms, and surrendered themselves to the enemy; the safest method in their present circumstances. Their number being very great, they were divided under several guards; and the town was, be-

fore night, restored to the Sutrians uninjured, because it had not been taken by force, but had surrendered on terms.

4. Camillus returned to the city in triumph, crowned at once with conquest over three different enemies. By far the greater part of the prisoners, led before his chariot, were Etrurians; and these, being sold by auction, such a vast sum of money was brought into the treasury, that after payment of the price of their gold to the matrons, there were three golden bowls made out of the surplus, which being inscribed with the name of Camillus, lay before the burning of the capitol, as we are well informed, in the recess of Jupiter's temple, at Juno's feet. In that year, such of the Veientians, Capenatians, and Faliscians, as had during the wars with those nations come over to the Romans, were admitted members of the state, and lands were assigned to these new citizens. Those were also recalled by decree of senate from Veii, who, to avoid the trouble of building at Rome, had betaken themselves thither, and seized on the vacant houses. This produced only murmurs, and they disregarded the order: but afterwards, a certain day being fixed, and capital punishment denounced against those who did not return to Rome, refractory as the whole had been, each particular person was reduced to obedience through fear for his own safety. And now Rome increased, not only in number of inhabitants, but in buildings, which rose up at the same time in every part, as the state gave assistance in the expenses, the ediles pressed forward the work, as if a public one; and private persons of themselves, incited by their feeling of the want of accommodations, hastened to finish it; so that within the year a new city was erected. On the year being ended an election was held of military tribunes with consular power. [A. U. C. 367. B. C. 385.] Those elected were Titus Quintius Cincinnatus, Quintus Servilius Fidenas a fifth time, Lucius Julius Iulus, Lucius Aquilius Corvus, Lucius Lucretius Tricipitinus, and Servius Sulpicius Rufus.

They led one army against the Æquans, not to wage war, for that people acknowledged themselves conquered, but in the warmth of animosity to lay waste their country, that they might not have strength for any new enterprises ; and another into the territory of Tarquinii. Here Cortuosa and Contenebra, towns belonging to the Etrurians, were taken by storm and demolished. At Cortuosa there was no contest : attacking it by surprise, they took it at the first onset : the town was then plundered and burnt. Contenebra sustained a siege for a few days, and it was continual labor, intermitted neither by night nor by day, which subdued the townsmen ; for the Roman army being divided into six parts, each division maintained the fight for one hour in six in rotation, whereas the smallness of their number exposed the same townsmen always, fatigued as they were, to a contest with an enemy who were continually relieved. They gave way at length, and made room for the Romans to enter the city. It was agreed between the tribunes that the spoil should be converted to the use of the public ; but the order not being issued in time, during the delay the soldiers possessed themselves of the spoil, which could not be taken from them without occasioning general discontent. In the same year, that the additions to the city should not consist of private buildings only, the lower parts of the capitol were rebuilt with hewn stone ; a work deserving notice, even amidst the present magnificence of the city.

5. And now, while the citizens were busily employed in building, the tribunes of the commons endeavored to draw crowds to their harangues by proposals of agrarian laws. The Pomptine territory was held out as a lure to their hopes, as the possession of it was then, by the reduction of the Volscian power by Camillus, perfectly secure, which had not been the case before. They laid heavy charges, that ' that territory was much more grievously oppressed by the nobility than it had been by the Volscians ; for the latter had only made incursions into it, at such times as they had

arms and strength; whereas certain persons of the nobility forcibly usurped possession of land, which was the property of the public; nor, unless there were a division of it now made, would there be any room left for the commons.' They made no great impression on the commons, who were so intent on building, that they did not much frequent the forum; and besides, were so exhausted by their expenses in that way, that they were careless about land, which they had not abilities to improve. The state having ever been strongly affected with religious impressions, and even those of the first rank having, at that time, in consequence of the late misfortunes, become superstitious, the government was changed to an interregnum, in order that the auspices might be taken anew. There were interreges in succession, Marcus Manlius Capitolinus, Servius Sulpicius Camerinus, and Lucius Valerius Potitus. [A. U. C. 368. B. C. 384.] The last held, at length, an election of military tribunes with consular power; and appointed Lucius Papirius, Caius Cornelius, Caius Sergius, Lucius Æmilius a second time, Lucius Menenius, and Lucius Valerius Poplicola a third time. These entered into office immediately on the expiration of the interregnum. In that year the temple of Mars, vowed during the Gallic war, was dedicated by Titus Quintius, one of the duumvirs appointed for the performance of religious rites. Four new tribes were formed of the new citizens, the Stellatine, the Tromentine, the Sabatine, and the Narnian, which made up the number of twenty-five tribes.

6. Lucius Sicinius, plebeian tribune, pressed the business of the Pomptine lands in the assemblies of the people, who now attended in greater numbers, and were also more easily led to wish for land than formerly. Mention was introduced in the senate of declaring war against the Latines and Hernicians, but that business was postponed by their attention being called to a more important war, Etruria being in arms. They had recourse therefore to the expedient of electing Camillus a military tribune with consular power. [A. U. C. 369.]

B. C. 383.] The five colleagues joined with him were Servius Cornelius Maluginensis, Quintus Servilius Fidenas a sixth time, Lucius Quintius Cincinnatus, Lucius Horatius Pulvillus, and Publius Valerius. The cares of the public were, in the very beginning of the year, diverted from the Etrurian war; for a number of fugitives from the Pomptine district running hastily into the city, in a body, brought intelligence that the Antians were in arms, and that the states of the Latines had privately sent their young men to co-operate with them in the war, alleging that the state was not concerned in the business, but only did not hinder volunteers to engage in any service which they chose. I had ceased to be the practice to despise any enemy: the senate therefore thanked the gods that Camillus was in office, because, had he been in a private station it would have been necessary to have nominated him dictator:—his colleagues also agreed, that when any danger threatened, the intire direction of affairs should be vested in him singly, and determined to consign all their authority into his hands; nor did they think that any concession which they made towards exalting his dignity derogated in the least from their own. After the tribunes had been highly commended by the senate, Camillus too, covered with confusion, returned them his thanks, and proceeded to say, that ‘a heavy burden was laid on him by the Roman people, who had created him, in a manner, dictator, now a fourth time: a very great one, by the senate, in such judgments as that body had expressed concerning him; but the greatest of all, by the condescension of colleagues of such eminent distinction. Wherefore if it were possible to add to his diligence and vigilance, he would vie with himself, and labor earnestly, that the opinion of the state concerning him, so universally conceived, might be as lasting as it was honorable to him. With respect to the war, and the Antians, there was more of threats in it than of danger: nevertheless his advice was, that as they should fear nothing, so they should despise nothing. The city of Rome was

besieged on all sides by the ill-will and hatred of its neighbors. The business of the commonwealth would therefore require more generals and more armies than one. 'It is my design,' said he, 'that you, Publius Valerius, as my associate in command and counsel, shall march with me, at the head of the legions, against the enemy at Antium: that you, Quintus Servilius, after forming another army, and putting it in readiness, shall encamp in the city, and be ready to act, in case the Etrurians, as lately, or these new disturbers, the Latines and Hernicians, should, in the mean time, make any attempts: I am perfectly assured that your conduct will be worthy of your father, of your grandfather, of yourself, and of six tribunes. Let a third army be enlisted by Lucius Quintius for the guard of the city, out of those excused from service, and those past the military age. Let Lucius Horatius provide arms, weapons, corn, and whatever else the exigences of war may demand. You, Servius Cornelius, we, your colleagues, appoint the president of this grand council of the state, the guardian of religion, of the assemblies, of the laws, and of every thing else pertaining to the city.' All of them cheerfully promising their best endeavors, in the several departments committed to them, Valerius, whom he had chosen his associate in command, added, that 'he should consider Camillus as dictator, and himself as his master of the horse,' and desired them therefore to 'regulate their expectations respecting the war according to the opinion which they entertained of their sole commander.' The senate, elated with joy, one and all declared, that 'they really cherished the best expectations with regard to war and peace and every branch of public business; nor would the commonwealth ever stand in need of a dictator, if it were to have such men in office, united in such harmony of sentiment, equally ready to obey and to command, and who rather considered fame as their joint-stock, than endeavored to monopolise it to the exclusion of others.'

7. A cessation of civil business being proclaimed

and troops levied, Camillus and Valerius marched towards Satricum, to which place the Antians had drawn together not only the youth of the Volscians, chosen from among the new generation, but immense numbers from the Latines and Hernicians, nations who, from a long enjoyment of peace, were in the fullest vigor. This new enemy then being united in addition to the old, shook the resolution of the Roman soldiery; and the centurions reporting to Camillus, while he was employed in forming his line of battle, that 'the minds of the soldiers were disturbed; that a backwardness appeared in their taking up arms, and that they went out of the camp with reluctance, and after several halts; nay, that some had been heard to say that each of them would have to fight against a hundred enemies; that so great a multitude, even if unarmed, could hardly be withstood, much less when they were furnished with arms;' he leaped on his horse, and in the front of the battalions, turning to the line, and riding between the ranks, asked them 'what is the meaning, soldiers, of this dejection, of this unusual backwardness? Are you unacquainted with the enemy, or with me, or with yourselves? The enemy, what are they but the continual subject of your bravery and your glory? On the other hand, with me at your head, not to mention the taking of Falerii and Veii, or the cutting to pieces the Gallic legions, by whom our country was held in captivity, you have lately celebrated a triple triumph, for three several victories gained over these same Volscians, Æquans, and Etrurians. Is it that you do not recognise me as your leader, because I gave you the signal not in character of dictator, but of tribune? I desire not the highest degree of authority over you; and with respect to me, you ought to regard nothing but myself; for neither did the dictatorship ever add to my courage, nor even exile deprive me of it. We are all therefore the same, and since we bring to this war all the same advantages which accompanied us in the former, let us expect the same issue. Do you once begin the fight, each party

will do what they have learned and practised : you will conquer, they will fly.'

8. Then giving the signal, he leaped from his horse, and laying hold of the nearest standard-bearer, hurried him onward against the foe, calling aloud, 'Soldier, advance the standard.' On seeing this, that Camillus himself, now unequal, through age, to acts of bodily strength, was advancing against the enemy, they all raised the shout and rushed forward together, every one crying out eagerly, 'Follow the general.' It is said that the standard was even thrown by order of Camillus into the ranks of the enemy, and the van hereby excited to exert themselves for its recovery : that in this spot the Antians were first compelled to give way, and that the panic spread, not only through the first line, but even to the troops in reserve. Nor was it only the force of the soldiers, animated by the presence of their leader, which disheartened the enemy ; the very sight of Camillus struck terror into the Volscians ; so that wherever he met their eyes, victory was no longer doubtful. This was particularly evident, when hastily mounting his horse, he rode with a footman's shield to the left wing, when it was almost driven from its ground, and by his appearance restored the battle, while he pointed to the rest of the line who were fighting with success. The affair was now decided. On the one side the enemy's disordered numbers impeded their flight ; on the other, the wearied soldiers would have had a long and laborious task, in putting to the sword so great a multitude, when heavy rain suddenly falling, attended with a violent storm of wind, prevented the pursuit of the victory, for it was no longer a fight. The signal for retreat was then given, and the following night put an end to the war, without any farther trouble to the Romans : for the Latines and Hernicians abandoning the Volscians, marched away to their homes, having found such an issue of their enterprise as the wickedness of it deserved. The Volscians seeing themselves deserted by those, through reliance on whom they had been induced to revive hos-

tilities, abandoned their camp, and shut themselves up within the walls of Satricum ; against these, the first plan of operations adopted by Camillus was to inclose them with lines of circumvallation, and to carry on his approaches by mounds and other works ; but finding that no obstruction was ever given to these by any sally from the town, he judged that the enemy were not possessed of such a degree of spirit as should induce him, in apprehension thereof, to wait in tedious expectation of victory ; and therefore exhorting his men not to waste their strength by a long course of labors, as in the siege of Veii, for victory was within their reach ; and the soldiers showing the greatest alacrity, he assailed the walls on all sides by scalade, and made himself master of the town. The Volscians threw down their arms and surrendered.

9. But the general's thoughts were intent on a matter of greater moment, on the city of Antium. That, he knew, was the grand spring which set the Volscians in motion, and had given rise to the last war. But as a city of so great strength could not be taken without great preparations for the siege, and a large train of engines and machines, he left his colleague to command the army, and went to Rome, in hopes of persuading the senate to resolve on the destruction of Antium. In the middle of his discourse on the subject, it being, I suppose, the will of the gods that the state of Antium should have a longer duration, ambassadors arrived from Nepete and Sutrium, imploring aid against the Etrurians, and urging that the opportunity for assisting them would be quickly lost. Thither did fortune divert the force of Camillus from Antium ; for as those places were situated opposite Etruria, and served as barriers or gates, as it were on that side, that people, on the one hand, whenever any new enterprise was undertaken, were ever anxious to get possession of them ; and the Romans on the other to recover and secure them. The senate therefore resolved that application should be made to Camillus to drop the design against Antium, and undertake the Etrurian war.

The city legions, which had been under the command of Quintius, were decreed to him : although he would have preferred the army which was in the country of the Volscians, of which he had made trials, and which was accustomed to his command, yet he offered no objections ; he only insisted on Valerius being associated with him in command. Accordingly Quintius and Horatius were sent to succeed Valerius in the country of the Volscians. Camillus and Valerius marching from the city to Sutrium, found one part of the town already taken by the Etrurians ; and, in the other part, the passages to which were barricaded, the townsmen with great difficulty repelling the assault of the enemy. The approach of aid from Rome, together with the name of Camillus, universally celebrated among friends and foes, not only gave them respite for the present from the ruin which impended, but also afforded an opportunity of effectuating their relief. Camillus then dividing his army into two parts, ordered his colleague to lead round his division to that side which was in possession of the enemy, and to make an assault on the walls ; not so much in expectation that the city should be taken by scalade, as that, whilst the enemy should be diverted to that side, the townsmen, now fatigued with fighting, might gain some relaxation, and also that he himself might have an opportunity of entering the city without a dispute : both which consequences taking place at the same time, and terrifying the Etrurians by the double danger to which they stood exposed, when they saw the walls of one part assailed with the greatest fury, and the enemy within the walls of the other, they were struck with such consternation, that they threw themselves out, in one body, by a gate which alone happened to be unguarded. Great numbers were slain in their flight, both in the city and in the fields : the greatest execution done by the soldiers of Camillus was within the walls : those of Valerius were most alert in the pursuit ; nor did they desist from the slaughter until it was so dark that they could see no longer. Sutrium being thus recovered,

and restored to the allies, the army was conducted to Nepete, of which the Etrurians had now the entire possession, having received it by capitulation.

10. It was expected that the recovery of this city would have been attended with greater difficulty; not only because the whole of it was possessed by the enemy, but also, because it was in consequence of a party of the Nepesinians betraying the public that the surrender had been made. However, it was thought proper that a message should be sent to their principal men, to separate themselves from the Etrurians, and show on their own part the same faithful attachment which they had implored from the Romans. But their answer importing that there was nothing in their power, for that the Etrurians held possession of the walls and the guards of the gates, a trial was first made to terrify the townsmen, by laying waste their lands. But when they were found to adhere more religiously to the terms of the capitulation than to those of the alliance, the army was led up to the walls with fascines made of bushes, collected in the country, with which the ditches being filled, the scaling ladders were raised, and the town taken at the first attack. Proclamation was then made that the Nepesinians should lay down their arms, and that the unarmed should be spared. The Etrurians, armed and unarmed, were put to the sword without distinction: of the Nepesinians likewise the authors of the surrender were beheaded. To the guiltless multitude their effects were restored, and a garrison was left in the town. Having thus recovered two allied cities from the enemy, the tribunes, with great glory, led home the victorious army. During this year satisfaction was demanded from the Latines and Hernicians, and the reason required, of their not having for some years past sent the supplies of soldiers stipulated by treaty. An answer was given in full assembly by both nations that 'there was neither design nor blame to be imputed to the public, because some of their young men carried arms in the service of the Volscians. That these, however, had suffered the penalty of their

improper conduct, not one of them having returned home. As to the supplies of soldiers, the reason of their not sending them was, their continual apprehensions from the Volscians, that pest still clinging to their side, which so many successive wars had not been able to exhaust.' Which answer being reported to the senate, they were of opinion that a declaration of war, in consequence of it, would rather be unseasonable than ill-grounded.

11. In the following year, [A. U. C. 370. B. C. 382] Aulus Manlius, Publius Cornelius, Titus and Lucius Quintii Capitolini, Lucius Papirius Cursor a second time, and Caius Sergius a second time, being military tribunes, with consular power, a grievous war broke out abroad, and a more grievous sedition at home: the war was set on foot by the Volscians, assisted by a revolt of the Latines and Hernicians: the sedition, by one, from whom it could, least of all, have been apprehended; a man of patrician birth, and of illustrious character, Marcus Manlius Capitolinus; who, being of a temper too aspiring, while he looked with contempt on the other men of chief distinction, burned with envy of one, who was most eminently distinguished, at the same time, by honors and by merit, Marcus Furius Camillus. It gave him great uneasiness that 'he should be the only man considered among the magistrates, the only man at the head of the armies; that he was now exalted to such eminence, that the persons elected under the same auspices with himself, he used, not as colleagues, but as subordinate officers; while at the same time, if a just estimate were made, it would have been impossible for Camillus to have recovered their native city from the Gauls who besieged it, if he himself had not first saved the capitol and citadel. The other indeed attacked the Gauls when, between the receiving of the gold and the expectation of peace, they were off their guard: but he had beaten them off, when armed for fight, and taking possession of the citadel. In the other's glory, as far as bravery was concerned, every soldier who conquered along with him had a right to

share; in his own victory, no man living could claim a part.' Puffed up with such notions as these, and being, besides, of a vicious disposition, vehement and headstrong, when he perceived that his interest had not that prevailing influence among the patricians which he thought his due, he, the first of all the patricians, became a partisan of the plebeians; formed schemes in conjunction with the magistrates of the commons, and, while he criminated the patricians, and allured the commons to his side, he came to be actuated by ambition for popular applause, not by prudence, and to prefer a great to a good character. Not content with agrarian laws, which had ever served the plebeian tribunes as matter of sedition, he attempted to undermine public credit: for debt, he knew, supplied sharper incentives, as it not only threatened poverty and ignominy, but menaced personal freedom with stocks and chains; and the amount of the debts which the people had contracted by building, an undertaking most distressing to the circumstances even of the rich, was immense. The Volscian war, therefore, heavy in itself, and charged with additional weight by the defection of the Latines and Hernicians, was held out as a colorable pretext for having recourse to a higher authority; while, in fact, they were the reforming plans of Manlius which obliged the senate to create a dictator. Aulus Cornelius Cossus being created, he nominated Titus Quintius Capitolinus master of the horse.

12. The dictator, although he perceived that he should have a greater struggle to maintain at home than in the field; yet, either because the war required despatch, or because he thought that, by a victory and triumph, he might add to the power of the dictatorship itself, as soon as the levies were completed, proceeded to the Pomptine territory, where he was informed the Volscians had appointed the assembling of their army. To persons reading in so many former books, of wars continually waged with the Volscians, I doubt not that, besides satiety, this difficulty also will occur, whence the Volscians and Æquans, so often vanquished, could

procure supplies of soldiers? which having been passed over in silence by the ancient writers, what can I possibly advance, but opinion? and that every one, indeed, can form for himself. It seems probable, however, either that they employed, according to the present practice in the Roman levies, the several different generations of their young men successively, as they sprung up, during the intervals between wars; or, that the troops were not always enlisted out of the states of the nation making war; or, that there was an innumerable multitude of freemen in those places, which, at present, were it not for the Roman slaves, would be a desert, and where scarcely the smallest seminary of soldiers remains. Certain it is, all authors agreeing therein, that notwithstanding their strength had lately been greatly reduced under the conduct and auspices of Camillus, yet the forces of the Volscians were exceedingly numerous; and to them were added the Latines and Hernicians, a number of the Circeians, together with some colonists from Velitræ. The Roman dictator encamped on the first day; and on the following, having taken the auspices before he made his appearance, and sacrificing a victim, implored the favor of the gods. With joy in his countenance, he presented himself to the soldiers, who were now at daybreak taking arms, according to orders, on the signal for battle being displayed, and said, ‘Soldiers, victory is ours, if the gods and their prophets know aught of futurity. Therefore, as becomes men full of well-grounded hopes, and about to engage with their inferiors, let us, fixing our spears at our feet, bear no other arms than our swords. I do not wish that any should even push forward beyond the line; but that standing firm you receive the enemy’s onset in a steady posture. When they shall have discharged their ineffectual weapons, and, breaking their order, rush against you as you stand, then let your swords glitter in their eyes, and let every one recollect that there are gods who support the Roman cause; gods, who have sent us to battle with favorable omens. Do you, Titus Quintius, keep back the cavalry, watch-

ing attentively the beginning of the conflict: as soon as you shall see the armies closed foot to foot, then, while their fears are employed on some other object, strike dismay into them with your horsemen; and, by a brisk charge, disperse the ranks that dispute the victory.' As he had ordered, so did the cavalry, so did the infantry manage the fight. Nor did either the general deceive the legions, or fortune the general.

13. The enemy, grounding their confidence on no other circumstance than their number, and measuring both armies merely by the eye, entered on the battle inconsiderately, and inconsiderately gave it over. Fierce only in their shout, and the discharge of their missive weapons at the first onset, they were unable to withstand the swords, the close engagement foot to foot, and the looks of the Romans darting fire through their ardor for the fight. Their first line was driven from its ground; the confusion spread to the troops in reserve; and the charge of the cavalry increasing the disorder, the ranks were quickly broken, so as to resemble the waves of the sea. Thus the foremost fell, and as each saw death approaching, they quickly turned their backs. The Romans followed close, and as long as the enemy retreated in bodies the trouble of the pursuit fell to the share of the infantry; but when it was perceived that they every where threw away their arms, and were scattered over the country, then squadrons of horse were sent out, with instructions that they should not, by spending time in attacking single persons, give the multitude an opportunity of escaping: that it would be sufficient if their speed were retarded, and their forces kept employed by frequent skirmishes, until the infantry might overtake them, and complete their destruction. The flight and pursuit did not cease until night came on. The camp of the Volscians was also taken the same day, and plundered, and the whole booty, except the persons of free condition, bestowed on the soldiers. The greatest number of the prisoners were Latines and Hernicians, and these not men of plebeian station, who could be supposed to have served

for hire, but many young men of the first rank were found amongst them; an evident proof that aid had been given to the Volscians by public authority. Several of the Circeians were likewise found there, with colonists from Velitræ, and being all sent to Rome, on being examined by the principal senators, they made a plain discovery, as they had done to the dictator, of the defection of their respective states.

14. The dictator kept his army encamped in one post, not doubting that the senate would order war to be made on those states; when more momentous business arising at home, made it necessary that he should be called back to Rome; this was the sedition which ripened daily, and which was become more than commonly alarming, on account of the person who fomented it. It was now easy to perceive from what motive proceeded the discourses of Manlius, disguised under the veil of popular zeal, but pregnant with mischief. On seeing a centurion, who was highly distinguished for his behavior in the army, led to prison, in consequence of a judgment given against him for debt, he ran up, with his band of attendants, into the middle of the forum, and laid hands on him, exclaiming against the tyranny of the patricians, the cruelty of the usurers, the miseries of the commons, and the merits and hard fortune of the man. "When, indeed, it was in vain," said he, 'that with this right hand I saved the capitol and citadel, if I must see my fellow-citizen and fellow-soldier, as if a prisoner to the victorious Gauls, dragged into slavery.' He then paid the debt to the creditor in the view of the people, and gave the man his liberty, after purchasing him in the regular form, with the scales and brass, while the latter besought both gods and men to grant a recompense to his deliverer, Marcus Manlius, the parent of the Roman commons; and being instantly received into the tumultuous crowd, he himself increased the tumult, showing the scars of the wounds which he had received in the Veientian, Gallic, and other succeeding wars; telling them that 'his services in the army, and the rebuilding his ruined dwell-

ing, had been the means of overwhelming him with accumulated interest of a debt; the interest always precluding the possibility of discharging the principal, though he had already paid the amount of the first sum many times over. That it was owing to the generosity of Marcus Manlius that he now beheld the light of day, the forum, and the faces of his fellow-citizens. Every obligation, due to parents, he owed to him; to him, therefore, he devoted whatever remained of his person, his life, and his blood; whatever ties should bind him to his country, to public or private guardian deities, by all these united he was bound to that one man.' While the commons were deeply affected by these expressions, another scheme was introduced, of still greater efficacy, towards promoting a general commotion. A piece of ground in the country of the Veientians, the principal part of Manlius' patrimony, he ordered to be sold by auction; adding, that 'I will not suffer one of you, my fellow-citizens, while I have any property remaining, to have judgments given against him, and to be ordered into custody of a creditor.' This, above all, inflamed their minds to such a degree, that they seemed ready to follow the asserter of their liberty, through every measure, whether right or wrong. Besides this, he made speeches at his own house, as if he were haranguing an assembly of the people, full of imputations against the patricians, in which he threw out, among the rest, without regarding any distinction between truth and falsehood, that 'treasure, consisting of the gold rescued from the Gauls, was concealed by the patricians; that they were not content, now, with keeping possession of the public lands, unless they converted the public money likewise to their own use; and that if this were brought to light, it would be sufficient to clear the commons of their debts.' On this prospect being presented to them, they at once conceived it to be a scandalous proceeding, that when gold was to be procured for the ransom of the city from the Gauls, the collection had been made by a general contribution, and that the same gold, when taken from the

enemy, should become the prey of a few. The next step, therefore, was to inquire in what place a treasure of such magnitude was kept concealed: to this he declined giving an answer at present, saying, he would explain that point in due time; on which all other concerns were neglected, and the attention of every man directed solely to this: and it was easy to foresee that neither people's gratitude, in case the information were well founded, nor their displeasure, should it prove false, would be confined within the bounds of moderation.

15. While things were in this state, the dictator, being called home from the army, came into the city. Next day he called a meeting of the senate; when, having made sufficient trial of the people's inclinations, he forbade the senate to depart from him, and being attended by the whole body, he fixed his throne in the Comitium, and sent a serjeant to Marcus Manlius; who, on being summoned by order of the dictator, after giving the signal to his party that a contest was at hand, came to the tribunal surrounded by a very numerous band. On one side stood the senate, on the other the commons, as if in order of battle, watching attentively each their own leader. Then silence being made, the dictator said, 'I wish that I and the Roman patricians may agree with the commons on every other subject, as I am very confident we shall with respect to you, and the business on which I am to interrogate you. I understand that expectations have been raised by you, in the minds of the citizens that, without injury to credit, their debts may be discharged by means of the Gallic gold secreted by the principal patricians. To which proceeding, so far am I from giving any obstruction that, on the contrary, I exhort you, Marcus Manlius, to deliver the Roman commons from the burden of interest, and to tumble from off these heaps of peculated wealth those men who lie brooding over it. But if you refuse to perform this, either because you wish to be yourself a sharer in the peculation, or because your information is groundless, I shall order

you to be led to prison; nor will I suffer the multitude to be any longer disquieted by you with fallacious hopes.' To this Manlius answered, that 'it had not escaped his observation that Cornelius was created dictator, not for the purpose of acting against the Volscians, who were enemies as often as it answered any purpose to the patricians, nor against the Latines and Hernicians, whom they were driving into hostilities by false imputations, but against himself and the Roman commons. And now, the war which had been feigned to subsist, being dropped, an assault was made on him: now the dictator acted as the professed patron of usurers against the commons. Now the favor of the multitude towards him was made a handle for criminal charges, and for effecting his destruction. The crowd that attends my person,' said he, 'offends you, Aulus Cornelius, and you, conscript fathers. Why then do you not draw it away from me by doing acts of kindness? by becoming surety, by delivering your countrymen from the stocks? by hindering them, when cast in suits and ordered into custody of creditors, to be carried to prison? by relieving the necessities of others out of your own superfluities? But why do I exhort you to expend your property? Only fix a new capital, deduct from the principal what has been paid as interest, and then the crowd about me will not be more remarkable than about any other. But why do I, alone, interest myself for my fellow-citizens? To this, I have no other answer to make, than if you should ask why I, alone, saved the capitol and the citadel? I then gave every aid in my power to the whole community, and will do so still to each individual. Now, as to the Gallic treasures, the manner in which I am questioned causes difficulty in a matter, which, in itself, has none. Why do you ask what you already know? Why do you order others to shake out what lies in your own laps, rather than lay it down yourselves, unless to conceal some treacherous scheme? The more earnestness you show for inquiry, the more I fear, lest you should be able to blind the eyes of the observers. Wherefore com-

pulsion ought not to be used to make me discover your hoard, but to yourselves, to make you produce it to the public.'

16. The dictator ordered him to lay aside all evasion, and insisted on his either proving the truth of his information, or acknowledging himself guilty of having charged the senate falsely of a fraudulent concealment; and on his declaring that he would not speak at the pleasure of his enemies, ordered him to be led to prison. Being arrested by the serjeant, he exclaimed, 'O Jupiter, supremely good and great, imperial Juno, Minerva, and all you gods and goddesses who inhabit the capitol and citadel, do you suffer your soldier and guardian to be harassed in this manner? Shall this hand, with which I beat off the Gauls from your temples, be now loaded with chains?' Neither the eyes nor ears of any present could well endure the indignity offered to him: but the people of this state had taught themselves to consider the authority of certain magistrates as indisputable; nor dared either the plebeian tribunes, or the commons themselves, to open their lips, or lift up their eyes against the dictatorial power. On Manlius being thrown into prison, it appears that a great part of the commons put on mourning; and that great numbers of the people, neglecting their hair and beard, dejectedly flocked about its gates. The dictator had triumphed over the Volscians; and by that triumph had attracted a greater share of ill-will than of glory: for it was a general murmur that 'he had acquired it at home, not in war; and that it was a victory over a citizen, not over an enemy; that only one thing was wanting to complete his arrogance, that Marcus Manlius should be led before his chariot.' And now the affair fell little short of open sedition; when, for the purpose of softening it, the senate, without any solicitation, became suddenly bountiful, ordering a colony of two thousand Roman citizens to be conducted to Sutrium, and two acres and a half of land to be assigned to each; which being represented as trifling in itself, conferred on a few, and that too as a bribe for betray-

ing Marcus Manlius, the sedition was irritated by the intended remedy. The crowd of Manlius' followers was now become more remarkable by their mourning dress, and the frequent appearance of persons under prosecution; while the dread of the dictator's power was removed by his resignation; it had set men's tongues and thoughts at liberty.

17. Many were heard, therefore, to speak out freely in public, upbraiding the multitude, that ' they always continued their attachment to their defenders, until they raised them to the top of a precipice; and then, in the hour of danger, deserted them. Thus had Spurius Cassius been undone, while he was inviting the citizens to the possession of lands. Thus Spurius Mælius, when, by the expenditure of his own property, he warded off famine; and thus was Marcus Manlius betrayed into the hands of his enemies, and while drawing forth to liberty and light one half of the state, sunk and buried under usury. That the commons fattened their favorites, in order that they might be slaughtered. Was such a punishment as this to be endured, because a man of consular dignity did not answer at the nod of a dictator? Admitting that what he said before was false, and therefore he had no answer to make, what slave was ever punished with imprisonment for a lie? Had they no recollection of that night, which had so nearly proved fatal, for ever, to the Roman name? None, of the band of Gauls, climbing up the Tarpeian rock? None, of Marcus Manlius himself, such as they had seen him in arms, covered with sweat and blood, after rescuing, in a manner, Jove himself, out of the enemy's hands? Had recompense been made to the saviour of their country by their half pounds of bread? And would they suffer a person, whom they had almost deified; whom, at least with respect to the surpame of Capitulinus, they had set on an almost equal footing with Jupiter, to waste his life in chains, in prison, in darkness, subjected to the will of an executioner? That all had found such effectual support from a single person, and now that single person found

no support at all from such great numbers.' The crowd did not, even during the night, disperse from the spot; and they threatened to break open the prison, when, conceding what would have been taken by force, the senate, by a decree, discharged Manlius from confinement. But this proceeding, instead of putting an end to the sedition, supplied it with a leader. About the same time the Latines and Hernicians; and also the colonists of the Circeii and Velitræ, endeavoring to clear themselves of the charge of being concerned in the Volscian war, and redemanding the prisoners, in order to punish them according to their own laws, met with severe replies; the colonists with the severer, because, being Roman citizens, they had framed the abominable design of attacking their own country. They were, therefore, not only refused with respect to the prisoners, but had notice given them, in the name of the senate, (who, however, did not proceed to such a length with regard to the allies,) to depart instantly from the city, from the presence and the sight of the Roman people, lest the privilege of ambassadors, instituted for the benefit of foreigners, not of fellow-citizens, should afford them no protection.

18. [A. U. C. 371. B. C. 381.] The sedition, headed by Manlius, reassumed its former violence, and on the expiration of the year the election was held, when military tribunes with consular power were elected out of the patricians; these were Servius Cornelius Maluginensis a third time, Publius Valerius Potitus a second time, Marcus Furius Camillus a sixth time, Servius Sulpicius Rufus a second time, Caius Papirius Crassus, and Titus Quintius Cincinnatus a second time. Peace being established with foreign nations, in the beginning of this year, was highly agreeable to both patricians and plebeians; to the latter, because, as they were not called to serve in the army, and had such a powerful leader at their head, they conceived hopes of being able to abolish usury; to the former, because their thoughts would not be drawn away by any dangers abroad, from applying remedies to the evils subsisting

at home. Both parties, therefore, exerting themselves much more strenuously than ever, a decisive contest approached apace. Manlius, on his part, calling together the commons at his house, held consultations night and day, with the principal persons amongst them, on the methods of effecting a revolution in affairs, being filled with a much higher degree both of courage and resentment than he had possessed before. The ignominy recently thrown on him, operating on a mind unaccustomed to affronts, had inflamed his resentment; his courage was augmented by the consideration that Cossus had not ventured to proceed in the same manner towards him, as Quintius Cincinnatus had done towards Spurius Mælius; and that, besides, not only the dictator had endeavored, by abdicating his office, to avoid the general odium excited by his imprisonment, but even the senate itself had not been able to withstand it. Elated with these reflections, and exasperated at the same time, he labored to inflame the spirits of the commons, which, of themselves, were sufficiently heated. 'How long,' said he, 'will you continue ignorant of your own strength, a knowledge which nature has not denied even to brutes? Only calculate your numbers, and those of your adversaries. But supposing that, in attacking them, each of you were to meet an antagonist, yet I should imagine that you would contend more vigorously in behalf of liberty than they in behalf of tyranny: for whatever number of clients you compose round your several respective patrons, so many of you will there be against each single foe. Only make a show of war, and you shall have peace. Let them see you ready to make use of force, and they will voluntarily relax their pretensions. All must concur in some effort, or separately submit to every kind of ill treatment. How long will you look to me for aid? I certainly will not be wanting to any of you; it is your part to take care that sufficient aid be not wanting to me. Even I, your champion, when my enemies thought proper, was at once reduced to nothing; and you, all together, beheld the person

thrown into chains who had warded off chains from each individual of you. What am I to hope if my enemies should attempt something more grievous against me? The fate of Cassius and Mælius? You act right in showing yourselves shocked even at the mention of this: may the gods avert it! But they will never come down from heaven on my behalf: they must inspire you with proper sentiments, that you may avert it; as they inspired me, in arms and in peace, to defend you, both from barbarous foes and from tyrannical fellow-citizens. Has so great a people a spirit so mean as to be always satisfied with being protected against its enemies? And are you never to know any dispute with the patricians, except about the degree of tyranny which you are to allow them to exercise over you? Yet this temper is not implanted in you by nature; you are become their property through habit: for what is the reason that towards foreigners you show such vigor of mind, as to think yourselves intitled to bear rule over them? Because you have been accustomed to vie with them for empire. But against the others you are content to make a few feeble essays towards obtaining liberty, rather than, by manly exertions, to maintain it. Nevertheless, whatever sort of leaders you have had, and whatever has been your own conduct, you have hitherto, either by force or good fortune, carried every point, of what magnitude soever, which you have attempted. It is now time to aim at higher objects. Only make trial of your own good fortune, and of me, whom you have already tried, I hope to your advantage. You will, with less difficulty, raise up one to rule the patricians, than you have raised up others to oppose their rule. Dictatorships and consulships must be levelled to the ground, that the Roman commons may raise up their heads. Give me therefore your support; stop all judicial proceedings respecting money. I profess myself the patron of the commons—a title which I am authorised to assume, both by my zeal and my fidelity. If on your part you choose to dignify your leader with any more distin-

guishing appellation of honor or command, you will render him the better able to accomplish the objects of your wishes.' This, we are told, was the first introduction of his scheme for attaining regal power; but we have no clear account who were his accomplices, nor to what length the design was carried.

19. On the other side, the senate were seen deliberating on the secession of the commons to one particular house, and that, as it happened, standing in the citadel; and on the important danger which threatened the liberty of the public. Great numbers exclaimed that they wanted a Servilius Ahala, who would not irritate a public enemy, by ordering Manlius to be led to prison, but would finish an intestine war with the loss of one citizen. A resolution was at length adopted, comprised in milder terms, but comprehending the same force; that 'the magistrates should take care that the commonwealth received no detriment from the pernicious designs of Marcus Manlius.' On this, the consular and plebeian tribunes consulted together on the measures necessary to be pursued in the present exigency; for even these latter magistrates, seeing that their own power must come to an end, as also the liberty of the public, had put themselves under the direction of the senate. And now no other expedient occurring but that of force and the shedding of blood, Marcus Mænius and Quintus Publius, plebeian tribunes, spoke to this effect: 'Why do we make that a contest between the patricians and plebeians which ought to be between the state and one pestilent citizen? Why do we attack the commons in conjunction with him, whom we could attack, with more safety, through the means of those very commons, so that he should sink under the weight of his own strength? Our recommendation is to institute a legal prosecution against him. Nothing is less popular than regal power: as soon as the multitude shall perceive that the contest is not with them, and that instead of advocates they are to be judges; and shall behold the prosecutors plebeians; the accused a pa-

trician; and that the charge is that of aiming at regal power; they will show more zeal in defence of their own liberty than they will attachment to any person whatever.

20. The proposal meeting universal approbation, a prosecution was commenced against Manlius. At first it raised a great ferment among the commons; more especially when they saw the accused in a mourning habit, unaccompanied, not only by any of the patricians, but by those who were connected with him by blood or affinity; nay, even deserted by his own brothers, Aulus and Titus Manlius: and indeed it had never before occurred, on an occasion of such danger, that a man's nearest relations did not put on a dress of sorrow. It was mentioned that when Appius Claudius was thrown into prison, Caius Claudius, who was at enmity with him, and the whole Claudian family, appeared in mourning: that a conspiracy was now formed to destroy this favorite of the people, because he was the first who had come over from the patricians to the commons. On the day of trial, I do not find, in any author, what matters were objected to the accused by the prosecutors, tending properly to prove the charge of his aspiring to kingly authority, except this: his assembling the multitude, his seditious expressions, his largesses, and pretended discovery of fraudulent practices: but I have no doubt that they were of importance; since not the merits of the cause, but the place, was what prevented his being immediately condemned by the commons. This I have thought proper to remark, in order to show that even such great and glorious achievements as those of this man were not only stripped of all their merit, but even rendered matter of detestation, by his depraved ambition for regal power. It is said that he produced near four hundred persons to whom he had lent money without interest; whose goods he had prevented being sold, or whose persons he had redeemed from confinement, after they had been adjudged to creditors. That, besides this, he not only enumerated the military re-

wards which he had obtained, but also produced them to view: spoils of enemies slain, to the number of thirty; presents from generals, to the amount of forty; among which were particularly remarkable two mural, and eight civic crowns.¹ That he produced also the citizens whose lives he had saved in battle; and mentioned among them Caius Servilius, when he was master of the horse, now absent. Then, after recounting his exploits in war, in a manner suited to the dignity of the subject, displaying, in a pompous discourse, eloquence equal to the bravery of his actions, he uncovered his breast, marked with an uncommon number of scars from wounds received in battle, and frequently turning his eyes from the capitol, called down Jupiter, and the other gods, to aid him in his present unhappy situation; and prayed that the same sentiments with which they had inspired him, while he stood in defence of the fortress for the preservation of the Roman people, they would now, in the crisis of his fate, infuse into the breasts of that same Roman people; and he besought each person present, in particular, and the whole assembly, that, with their eyes fixed on the capitol and citadel, and their faces turned to the immortal gods, they would form their judgment concerning him. As the people were summoned by centuries in the field of Mars, and as the accused stretched out his hands to the capitol, and instead of addressing his intreaties to men, directed them to the gods, the tribunes saw plainly, that unless they removed the multitude from a situation where even their eyes must remind them of such an honorable exploit, the best-founded charge would never gain belief in

¹ The mural crown was made of gold, and presented to those who, in assaults, were the first that forced their way into the towns. The civic crown was composed of oak-leaves, and bestowed on him who had saved the life of a citizen. The camp crown was of gold, and given to the man who first mounted the rampart of an enemy's camp. The obsidional crown was composed of grass, and presented, by the troops relieved from a siege to the commander who succored them.

minds so influenced : wherefore, adjourning the trial, they summoned a meeting in the Peteline grove, on the outside of the Nomentan gate, from whence there was no view of the capitol : there the charge was established ; and people's minds being unmoved by any foreign or adventitious circumstance, a severe sentence ; and which excited horror even in the breasts of his judges, was passed on him. Some authors say that he was condemned by two commissioners appointed to take cognisance of matters of treason. The tribunes cast him down from the Tarpeian rock : thus the same spot, in the case of one man, became a monument of distinguished glory, and of the cruelest punishment. After his death marks of infamy were fixed on him ; for his house having stood where the temple of Moneta and the mint-office now stand, an order was made by the people that no patrician should dwell in the citadel or capitol : a decree at the same time being passed to prohibit any of the Manlian family from ever after bearing the name of Marcus Manlius. Such was the end of a man, who, had he not been born in a free state, would have merited the esteem of posterity. A short time after, the people, recollecting only his virtues, were filled with deep regret for his loss. A pestilence, too, which presently followed, without any apparent cause of so great a malady, was attributed, by most men, to the punishment inflicted on Manlius. ' The capitol,' they observed, ' had been polluted with the blood of its preserver ; and it had given displeasure to the gods, that the person by whom their temples had been rescued out of the hands of the enemy should be brought before their eyes, in a manner, to suffer punishment.'

21. The pestilence was succeeded by a scarcity of the fruits of the earth ; [A. U. C. 372. B. C. 380] and the report of both calamities spreading abroad, a variety of wars ensued in the following year, in which Lucius Valerius a fourth time, Aulus Manlius a third time, Servius Sulpicius a third time, Lucius Lucretius, Lucius Æmilius a third time, and Marcus Trebonius,

were military tribunes with consular power. Besides the Volscians, destined by some fatality to give perpetual employment to the Roman soldiery, and the colonies of Circeii and Velitræ, long meditating a revolt, and Latium, whose conduct gave room for suspicion, a new enemy suddenly sprung up in the people of Lanuvium, a city whose fidelity had hitherto been remarkably steady. The senate, judging that this arose from contemptuous notions entertained by that nation, on seeing that the revolt of the people of Velitræ, members of the Roman state, remained so long unpunished, decreed, that an assembly should be held as soon as possible, concerning a declaration of war against that colony: and to induce the commons to engage in that service with the greater readiness, they appointed five commissioners to make a distribution of the Pomptine lands, and three to conduct a colony to Nepete. Then it was proposed to the people that they should order the declaration of war; and the plebeian tribunes in vain endeavoring to dissuade them, the tribes unanimously passed it. During that year preparations were made for hostilities, but on account of the pestilence the troops were not led into the field. This delay afforded sufficient time to the colonists to take measures to appease the anger of the senate; and the greater part of their people were inclined to send a suppliant embassy to Rome; which would have taken place, had not, as is often the case, the interest of the public been involved with the danger of individuals; and had not the authors of the revolt, dreading lest themselves only might be considered as answerable for the guilt, and be delivered up as victims to the resentment of the Romans, infused into the colonists an aversion from peaceful councils. They therefore found means, not only to obstruct the proposed embassy in the senate, but to excite a great part of the commons to make predatory excursions into the Roman territory, which new injury broke off all hopes of peace. This year also a report was first propagated of the Prænestians having revolted; and

when the people of Tusculum, and Gabii, and Lavici, on whose lands they had made incursions, brought the charge against them, the senate in their answer showed so little resentment, as made it evident that they gave the less credit to the charges, because they wished them not to be true.

22. In the following year [A. U. C. 373. B. C. 379] the two Papirii, Spurius and Lucius, new military tribunes with consular power, led the legions to Velitræ, leaving their four colleagues in the tribuneship, Servius Cornelius Maluginensis a fourth time, Quintus Servilius, Servius Sulpicius, and Lucius Æmilius a fourth time, to secure the safety of the city, and to be in readiness, in case intelligence of any new commotion should arrive from Etruria; for now every thing was apprehended from that quarter. At Velitræ they fought a battle with success, in which they were opposed by a number of Prænestine auxiliaries, rather greater than that of the colonists: and here the city being so near, was the reason of the enemy quitting the field the sooner, as it was their only refuge after their flight. The tribunes did not proceed to lay siege to the town, because the issue was uncertain; and besides, they did not think that they ought to push the war to the utter destruction of the colony. The letters sent to Rome to the senate, with news of the victory, expressed greater animosity against the Prænestine enemy than against those of Velitræ. In consequence of which, by decree of the senate, and order of the people, war was declared against the Prænestians. These, the next year, in conjunction with the Volscians, took Satricum, a colony of the Roman people, by storm, after an obstinate defence made by the colonists, and in their treatment of the prisoners made a barbarous use of their victory. [A. U. C. 374. B. C. 378.] Incensed thereat, the Romans elected Marcus Furius Camillus, a seventh time, military tribune; the colleagues joined with him were the two Postumii Regilleuses, Aulus and Lucius, and Lucius Furius, with Lucius Lucretius, and Marcus Fabius Ambustus.

The war with the Volscians was decreed to Camillus out of the ordinary course. Lucius Furius was chosen by lot, from among the rest of the tribunes, his assistant, an appointment which proved not so advantageous to the public as productive of honor to Camillus, in every branch of his conduct: in that which respected the public, as he restored their cause, when nearly ruined by the temerity of Furius; and in that which concerned themselves in particular, as, from the error of that man, he sought the means of engaging his gratitude, rather than of augmenting his own glory. Camillus was now far in the decline of life, and had intended at the election to take the usual oath, in order to be excused, on account of his health, but was prevented by the unanimous desire of the people. He retained all his faculties intire; his vigorous genius still bloomed and florished in a breast which glowed with youthful ardor; and though he took little share in civil affairs, yet the business of war roused his spirit. Enlisting four legions of four thousand men each, and ordering the troops to assemble next day at the Esquiline gate, he marched towards Satricum. There the conquerors of the colony waited for him nowise dismayed, confiding in their number of men, in which they had considerably the advantage: and when they understood that the Romans were approaching, marched out immediately to the field, determined without any delay to put all on the hazard of one decisive effort: which manner of proceeding, they thought, would put it out of the power of the enemy to compensate for the smallness of their number by the skill of their great commander, on which they placed their sole reliance.

23. The same ardor prevailed likewise in the troops of the Romans, and in one of their generals; nor was there any thing which prevented them from hazarding an immediate engagement but the wisdom and authority of that general, who sought, by protracting the war, to find some opportunity wherein their strength might receive aid from skill. The more on that ac-

count did the enemy urge them, and now, not only drew out their troops in order of battle before their own camp, but advanced into the middle of the plain, and, throwing up trenches near the Roman battalions, made ostentatious show of boldness derived from their strength. The soldiers were highly provoked at this, and much more highly Lucius Furius, the other military tribune; who, besides a naturally sanguine temper, and his vigorous time of life, was elated with the hopes which he saw possess the multitude, who are ever apt to assume confidence from causes the worst founded. The soldiery, of themselves full of impatience, he instigated still farther, by depreciating his colleague's judgment on account of his great age, the only point on which he could possibly impeach it, saying, 'that war was the province of youth, and that men's minds flourished and withered, together with their bodies; that he, who certainly had been a most active warrior, was become a mere drone; and though it had been his custom immediately on coming up with an enemy to snatch from them the possession of their camps and cities at the first onset; yet now he wasted time, lying inactive within the trenches. And what accession to his own strength, or diminution of that of the enemy, did he hope for? What opportunity, what season, what place for practising stratagem? The old man's schemes were too cold and languid. Camillus, for his own part, had enjoyed a sufficient share both of life and of glory; but where was the propriety of suffering the strength of the state, which ought to be immortal, to sink into the debility of old age, together with one mortal body?' By such discourses he had drawn to himself the attention of the whole camp; and when in every quarter they called for battle, he said to his colleague, 'Camillus, we cannot withstand the violence of the soldiers; and the enemy, whose courage we have increased by our delays, insults us with arrogance absolutely intolerable. Give up your single judgment to the general one, and suffer yourself to be overcome in counsel, that you may the

sooner overcome in battle.' To which Camillus replied, that 'in all the wars which, to that day, had been waged under his single auspices, neither himself nor the Roman people had found reason to be displeased, either with his conduct or his fortune: at present, he was sensible that he had a colleague, in command and authority, equal to himself; in vigor of age, superior: as to what regarded the troops, he had ever hitherto been accustomed to rule, not to be ruled; but his colleague's right of command he could not call in question. Let him do, with the favor of the gods, what he thought the interest of the commonwealth required. He would even request so much indulgence to his age, as that he should not be in the front line. That whatever duties in war an old man was qualified for, in these he would not be deficient; and that he besought the immortal gods that no misfortune might give them reason to think his plan the wiser one.' Neither was his salutary advice listened to by men, nor such pious prayers by the gods: the adviser of the fight drew up the first line; Camillus formed the reserve, and posted a strong guard in front of the camp; then, taking his own station on an eminence, as a spectator, he anxiously watched the issue of the other's plan.

24. As soon as the clash of arms was heard in the first encounter, the enemy through stratagem, not through fear, began to retire. There was a gentle acclivity in their rear between the army and their camp; and as they had plenty of men, they had left in their camp several strong cohorts, armed and ready for action, who were to sally forth after the battle should begin, and when the enemy approached the rampart. The Romans eagerly following the retreating army, were drawn into disadvantageous ground, where this sally could be made on them with effect: terror thus reverting on the conqueror from this new force, the declivity of the ground obliged the Roman line to give way. The Volscians, who had come fresh from their tents to the attack, pressed them close; and those too

who had counterfeited retreat now returned to the fight. The Roman soldiers no longer retired in order, but forgetting their late presumption and their former renown, every where turned their backs, and with the utmost speed ran towards their camp: when Camillus being lifted on his horse by his attendants, and hastily opposing the reserved troops in their way, called out, 'Is this, soldiers, the fight that you demanded! What man, what god can you blame? The former temerity was all your own; your own this present cowardice. As you have followed another leader, follow now Camillus; and as you are accustomed to do, under my conduct, conquer. Why do you look towards the rampart and camp? Not a man of you, unless victorious, shall find admittance there.' Shame at first stopped their precipitate flight: then, when they saw the standards wheel about, and a line formed to front the enemy; when a leader, who besides being distinguished by so many triumphs, was venerable even on account of his age, exposed himself in the front of the battalions, where there was the greatest share both of labor and danger; every one began to upbraid both himself and others, and mutual exhortation spread in a brisk shout through the whole length of the line. Nor was the other tribune deficient in activity. Being sent to the cavalry by his colleague, while he was reforming the line of infantry, he did not offer to rebuke them; for the share which he had in their fault had rendered any thing he could say of little weight. Instead of command, therefore, he had recourse intirely to intreaties; beseeching each, and all together, to 'redeem him from misconduct, who was answerable for the events of that day. In spite,' said he, 'of the advice and endeavors of my colleague, I have associated myself in the rashness of the many, rather than listened to the prudence of one. Camillus sees matter of glory to himself on either side to which your fortune may incline; but I, unless the fight is restored, shall feel the evil, in common with you all, and shall alone experience all the infamy; the most wretched lot that could

befall me.' It was thought best, while the line was still unsteady, that the cavalry should dismount and charge the enemy on foot. Accordingly, distinguished beyond others by their arms and their spirit, they advanced on the part where they saw the infantry most pressed; nor was there one among them, whether officer or soldier, who did not display the utmost efforts of courage: the aid therefore which their vigorous exertions of bravery supplied soon determined the event. The Volscians were driven headlong in real flight over the same ground, where they had just before retired with counterfeited fear: great numbers of them were slain, both in the battle and afterwards in the pursuit: of the rest however, who were found in the camp which the enemy took before they halted, more were made prisoners than put to death.

25. Here, in taking an account of the prisoners, several Tusculans being observed, they were separated from the rest, and brought to the tribunes; and, being examined, confessed that they had served in the war under the authority of the state. Hereon Camillus, alarmed at the apprehension of a war so near home, declared that he would immediately carry the prisoners to Rome, that the senate might not be ignorant of the revolt of the Tusculans from the confederacy: meanwhile his colleague, if he thought proper, should command the camp and the army. One day had been sufficient to teach him not to prefer his own counsels to better. However, neither himself nor any person in the army supposed that Camillus would, without marks of displeasure, pass over his misconduct, by which the public had been thrown into such perilous hazard; and as well in the army as at Rome the account uniformly received and universally admitted was, that with respect to the different degrees of success experienced in the country of the Volscians, the blame of the troops being worsted in fight and quitting the field was to be imputed to Lucius Furius, and that the whole honor of their victory belonged to Camillus. On the prisoners being brought before the se-

nate, it was decreed that war should be made on the Tusculans, and Camillus was appointed to the command in that expedition: on which he requested to be allowed one assistant in the business; and having received permission to name any of his colleagues whom he thought proper, contrary to all men's expectation, he chose Lucius Furius; by which he both alleviated the disgrace of his colleague, and at the same time acquired great honor to himself. However, there was no war with the Tusculans. By a strict adherence to peaceable measures, they warded off the force of the Romans, which it had been impossible for them to have done by arms; for on entering their territory, no removals were made from the places adjacent to the roads, no interruption in the cultivation of the grounds, the gates of their city stood open, crowds of the inhabitants came forth in their gowns to meet the generals, and provisions for the troops were brought with cheerfulness into the camp, both from the city and the country. Camillus pitched his camp before the gates, and being desirous to know whether the same appearance of peace prevailed within the walls, which was held out in the country, went into the city; and when he saw the doors and the shops open, and all kinds of wares exposed to sale, tradesmen busy in their respective employments, the schools of learning buzzing with the voices of the scholars, and the streets filled with the populace of every sort, among whom were women and children going different ways, as their several occasions called them, and when, in short, he perceived no circumstance which bore any appearance of fright, or even of surprise, he looked round to find in what manner, and where the preparation for war had been made; for there was not the least trace of any thing having been either removed, or placed to oppose him in his way: all indeed was in a uniform state of peace, so that one could hardly suppose that even the rumor of war had reached them.

26. Overcome therefore by the submissive demeanor of the enemy, he ordered their senate to be called, and

said to them : ‘ Men of Tusculum ; you are the only persons who have hitherto discovered the real strength, and the true arms, wherewith you might secure yourselves from the resentment of the Romans. Go to Rome, to the senate. The fathers will consider whether your former conduct more merited punishment, or your present forgiveness. I shall not arrogate to myself the gratitude which you will owe for favor conferred by the public. From me you shall have liberty to solicit pardon. The senate will grant such return to your prayers as they shall judge proper.’ When the Tuscullans came to Rome, and the senate of that people, who very lately were faithful allies, appeared in the porch of the senate-house, with sorrow in their countenances, the senators, moved with compassion, immediately ordered them to be called in, in a manner expressive of hospitality, rather than of enmity. The Tuscullan dictator spoke to this effect : ‘ Conscript fathers ; we, against whom you have proclaimed and were about to wage war, just as you see us now, standing in the porch of your house, went forth to meet your commanders and your legions. This was our habit, this the habit of our commons ; and ever shall be, unless, at any time we shall receive arms from you, and in your cause. We return thanks to your generals and your troops for having given credit to their own eyes, rather than to public rumor ; and for committing no hostilities themselves, where they found none subsisting. The peace by which our conduct has been governed, the same we request from you. War we beseech you to send to that quarter, where, if any where, war subsists. The power of your arms against us, if after submission we are to experience it, we will experience unarmed. This is our determination : may the immortal gods render it as successful as it is dutiful. As to what regards the charges by which you were moved to declare war against us, although it is needless to refute with words what has been contradicted by facts, yet, admitting that they were true, after giving such evident proofs of repentance, we

should think ourselves safe in pleading guilty before you. Consider us then as guilty towards you, since you are persons to whom such satisfaction may be made with propriety.' These were nearly the words of the Tuscans. They obtained peace at the present, and not very long after the freedom of the state also. The legions were then withdrawn from Tusculum.

27. Camillus, after having highly signalised himself by his conduct and bravery in the Volscian war, by his successful management in the Tusculan expedition, and in both, by his singular moderation towards his colleague, went out of office, having elected military tribunes for the ensuing year [A. U. C. 375. B. C. 377] Lucius and Publius Valerius, Lucius a fifth time, Publius a third, and Caius Sergius a third time, Lucius Menenius a second time, Spurius Papirius, and Servius Cornelius Maluginensis. Censors became necessary this year, principally on account of the various representations made of the debts; the tribunes of the commons exaggerating the amount of them, with design to increase the general discontent, while it was underrated by those whose interest it was that the difficulty of procuring payment should appear to be owing rather to the want of honesty than of ability in the debtors. The censors appointed were Caius Sulpicius Camerinus, and Spurius Postumius Regillensis: after they had entered on the business, it was interrupted by the death of Postumius, as it was not allowable to employ a substitute as colleague with a censor. Sulpicius therefore, abdicating the office, others were named to it; but some defect being discovered in the manner of their appointment, they were not received; and to appoint a third set was not allowed, as the gods seemed unwilling to admit of censors for that year. The plebeian tribunes now exclaimed, that such mockery of the commons was not to be endured; that 'the senate declined a public inquiry, which would ascertain each man's property, as that would discover that one half of the commonwealth was held in a state of depression by the other; while, in the mean time,

the commons, overwhelmed with debt, were exposed continually to the arms of one enemy after another. Wars were now industriously sought on all sides, without any distinction. From Antium the legions were led to Satricum, from Satricum to Velitræ, from thence to Tusculum. The Latines, the Hernicians, the Prænestines, were now threatened with hostilities; and this out of hatred to the citizens rather than for injuries; with design to wear out the commons under arms, not suffering them either to take breath in the city, or to have leisure to reflect on their liberty, or to take their places in an assembly where they might sometimes hear a tribune's voice, discoursing about the reduction of interest, and the removal of other grievances. But, for their part, if they could find in the commons a spirit capable of emulating the liberty of their fathers, they would neither suffer any Roman citizen to be made over to a creditor for money lent, nor any levy of troops to be made, until the debts being examined, and some method adopted for lessening them, every man should know what was his own, and what another's; whether his person was still to enjoy freedom, or whether that too was due to the stocks.' The prize held out to sedition quickly excited it; for numbers were continually made over to creditors; and accounts being received of the Prænestines being in arms, the senate voted new legions to be levied, to both which proceedings obstructions began to be raised at once by the interposition of the tribunitian power and the united efforts of the commons: for neither did the tribunes suffer those who were adjudged to their creditors to be carried to prison, nor did the younger citizens give in their names for the war; while the senate were less solicitous at present about enforcing the laws concerning the lending of money than about effecting the levy; for now they were informed that the enemy had marched from Præneste, and taken post in the Sabine territory. That very intelligence, however, rather irritated the tribunes to persist in the opposition which they had set up than deterred them: nor

was any thing sufficient to allay the discontents but the approach of hostilities almost to the very walls.

28. For the Prænestines having learned that there was no army levied at Rome, no general fixed on, and that the patricians and commons were taken up with quarrels among themselves, their leaders deemed this a fortunate opportunity for molestation ; and having made a hasty march, ravaging the country all along as they passed, they advanced their standards to the Colline gate. Great was the consternation in the city ; the alarm was given through every part ; people ran together to the walls and gates, and turning at length their thoughts from sedition to war, they created Titus Quintius Cincinnatus dictator, who nominated Aulus Sempronius Atratinus master of the horse. No sooner was this heard than the enemy, such was the terror of that office, retired from the walls ; while, on the dictator's edict being issued, the Roman youth attended without excuse. During the time that the levy was going on at Rome the enemy encamped not far from the river Allia, whence they carried their depredations through all the country round, boasting among themselves that they had chosen a post fatal to the city of Rome, whose troops would be dismayed, and fly from thence, as they had done in the Gallic war. For, ' if the Romans were afraid of a day which was deemed inauspicious, and marked with the name of that place, how much more than the Allian day would they dread the Allia itself, the monument of so great a disaster ! The fierce looks of the Gauls, and the sound of their voices, would certainly recur to their eyes and ears.' Possessed with these groundless notions of circumstances as groundless, they rested their hopes on the fortune of the place. On the other hand, the Romans considered that ' in whatever place their Latine enemies stood, they knew very well that they were the same whom they had utterly vanquished at the lake Regillus, and had held under peaceable subjection for now a hundred years : that the Allia, being that way distinguished, would rather stimulate them to blot out

the remembrance of their misfortune, than raise apprehensions of any ground being inauspicious to their success. Were they even to meet the Gauls themselves on that spot, they would fight, as they fought at Rome, for the recovery of their country; as the day after at Gabii, where they took effectual care that not a single enemy who had entered the walls of Rome should carry home an account either of their successes or defeats.'

29. With these sentiments on each side, they met at the Allia. As soon as the Roman dictator came within sight of the enemy, who were drawn up and ready for action, he said, 'Aulus Sempronius, do you perceive that those men have taken post at the Allia, relying, no doubt, on the fortune of the place? Nor have the immortal gods afforded them any surer ground of confidence, or any more effectual support. But do you, relying on arms and courage, make a brisk charge on the middle of their line. When they shall be thrown into disorder, I will bear down on them with the legions. Ye gods! who witnessed the treaty, be favorable to our cause, and exact the penalty due for the affront offered to yourselves, and also for the deception imposed on us, through an appeal to your divinity.' The Prænestines were unable to stand against either the cavalry or the infantry: the first shout and charge broke their ranks. In a little time, no part of their line remaining intire, they turned their backs, and fled in such consternation, that they even passed by their own camp, and never relaxed their speed until Præ-neste was in view. There, rallying, they took possession of a post, which they fortified after a hasty manner, dreading lest, if they retreated within the walls, the country should be immediately wasted with fire, and when every other place was desolated, siege should be laid to the city. But no sooner did the victorious Romans approach, after plundering the camp at the Allia, than they abandoned this fortress also, and shut themselves up in the town of Præneste, scarcely thinking the walls a sufficient security. There

were eight other towns under the dominion of the Prænestines: these were attacked in succession, and taken without any great difficulty, and the army led to Velitræ. That also was taken by storm. They then came to Præneste, the main source of the war, and it fell into their hands, not by force, but capitulation. Titus Quintius having thus gained the victory in one pitched battle, having taken from the enemy, by storm, two camps and nine towns, and Præneste on surrender, returned to Rome; and, in his triumph, carried into the capitol the statue of Jupiter Imperator, which he had brought away from Præneste. It was dedicated between the recesses of Jupiter and Minerva, and on a tablet, fixed under it as a monument of his exploits, were engraved nearly these words: ‘Jupiter, and all the gods, granted that Titus Quintius, dictator, should take nine towns in nine days.’ On the twentieth day after his appointment he abdicated the dictatorship.

30. An election was then held of military tribunes, with consular power, when equal numbers of patricians and plebeians were chosen. [A. U. C. 376. B. C. 376.] The patricians were, Publius and Caius Manlius, with Lucius Julius; the plebeians, Caius Sextilius, Marcus Albinus, and Lucius Antistius. To the Manlii, because they were superior to the plebeians in point of descent, and to Julius in interest, the Volscians were assigned as a province, out of the ordinary course, without casting of lots, or mutual agreement: of which step both they themselves, and the senate, who made the disposal, had afterwards reason to repent. Without taking measures to obtain the proper intelligence, they sent out some cohorts to forage. Marching hastily to support these, in consequence of a false report brought to them of their being ensnared, without even retaining the author of the report, and who was not a Roman but a Latine soldier, they themselves fell into an ambuscade; where, whilst they gave and received many wounds, maintaining resistance on disadvantageous ground merely by dint of valor, the enemy, in another quarter, made an assault on the Roman camp, which

lay in a low situation. The generals by their rashness and unskilfulness had thrown affairs, in both places, into most imminent danger; and that any part of the army was saved was owing to the fortune of the Roman people, and the bravery of the soldiers, capable of acting with steadiness, even without a commander. When an account of these transactions was brought to Rome, it was at first thought necessary that a dictator should be nominated: but intelligence being received from the country of the Volscians that matters were quiet, and it being evident that they knew not how to take advantage of success and opportunity, even the troops and generals which were there were recalled; and a cessation of hostilities continued during the remainder of the year, as far as regarded that people. The only interruption of tranquillity which occurred, and that towards the end of the year, was the revival of hostilities by the Prænestines, who had prevailed on the states of the Latines to co-operate with them. During this year new colonists were inrolled for Setia, the colony themselves complaining of a scarcity of men. Internal tranquillity, which was procured by the influence of the plebeian military tribunes, and the respect paid to their dignity by those of their own condition, proved some consolation for the failure of success in war.

31. In the beginning of the next year, [A.U.C. 377. B.C. 375] the flames of sedition blazed out with great violence; the military tribunes with consular power being Spurius Furius, Quintus Servilius a second time, Caius Licinius, Publius Clœlius, Marcus Horatius, and Lucius Geganius. This sedition again arose from the debts; for the purpose of ascertaining which, Spurius Servilius Priscus and Quintus Clœlius Sicilius were appointed censors, but were hindered by a war from proceeding in the business; for hasty messengers at first, and then people who fled from the country, brought information that the Volscian legions had entered the borders, and were committing depredations through the Roman territory. Alarming as this intelligence was, so far was their fear of a foreign enemy

from restraining the violence of their domestic feuds that, on the contrary, it gave occasion to the tribunitian power to exert itself with greater vehemence in obstructing the levies, until these conditions were imposed on the senate: that, during the continuance of the war, no one should pay a tax, nor should any judicial process be carried on respecting money due. This relaxation being obtained for the commons, there was no farther delay in the levies. When the new legions were enlisted, it was resolved that they should be divided, and two different armies led into the Volscian territory. Spurius Furius and Marcus Horatius proceeded to the right, towards Antium and the sea-coast; Quintus Servilius and Lucius Geganius to the left, towards Ecetra and the mountains. On neither side did the enemy meet them. Devastations were therefore made, not like those which the Volscians had committed in the manner of banditti, snatching an opportunity, and hurried by their fears, relying on the dissensions among the Romans, and dreading their valor; but with a regular army; and giving full scope to their resentment, more detrimental too, by reason of their continuance; for the Volscians, dreading lest an army should come out from Rome against them, had made their incursions only into the skirts of the frontiers; the Romans loitered in their country, in hopes of bringing them to an engagement. Every house therefore was burnt, and several villages also; not a fruit-tree was left, nor the seed in the ground to give a prospect of a harvest. All the men and cattle found without the walls were driven off as spoil, and the troops, from both quarters, were led back to Rome.

32. Thus a short interval had been allowed to the debtors; but no sooner was quiet restored abroad than the courts were filled anew with lawsuits against them: and so distant was every hope of lessening the burden of former debts, that they were obliged to contract new ones, by a tax for building a wall of hewn stone, which the censors had contracted for. To this hardship the

commons were obliged to submit, because there were, at the time, no levies which the tribunes might obstruct; nay, such an ascendancy had the nobility, that they obliged them to choose all the military tribunes out of the patricians, Lucius Æmilius, Publius Valerius a fourth time, Caius Veturius, Servius Sulpicius, Lucius and Caius Quintius Cincinnatus. [A.U.C. 378. B.C. 374.] By the same influence a resolution was carried, without opposition, that, to make head against the Latines and Volscians, who, with their forces united, were encamped at Satricum, all the young men should be obliged to take the military oath; and that three armies should be formed; one, for the protection of the city; another, which, in case any disturbance should arise elsewhere, might be sent where the sudden exigences of war should require. The third, and by far the most powerful, Publius Valerius and Lucius Æmilius led to Satricum; and there, finding the enemy drawn up in order of battle, on level ground, they instantly came to an engagement. But a heavy rain, attended with a violent storm of wind, put a stop to the fight; when, though victory had not declared for them, they yet had a fair prospect of it. Next day the battle was renewed, and for a considerable time the Latine legions particularly, who, during the long continuance of the confederacy, had learned the Roman discipline, maintained their ground with equal bravery and success. At length, a charge of the cavalry disordered their ranks, and before this could be remedied the infantry advanced on them. Wherever the Roman line attacked the enemy were pushed from their ground; and when once the advantage turned against them they found the Roman force irresistible. They were therefore utterly routed; and flying to Satricum, which was two miles distant, had many of their men slain, chiefly by the cavalry. Their camp was taken and plundered. The night after the battle they went off from Satricum to Antium, in a manner more like a flight than a march; and though the Roman army followed, almost in their steps, yet fear proved

fleeter than fury; so that they had got within their walls before the Romans could harass or impede their rear. Several days were spent in wasting the country; for the Romans were not properly furnished with military engines for attacking walls, nor the others in a condition to hazard a battle.

33. At this time a dissension arose between the Antians and the Latines; for the Antians, quite reduced by a war which had lasted from their birth, began to think of submission. The Latines, having but lately revolted, after a long enjoyment of peace, and their spirits being still fresh, were therefore the more resolutely determined to persevere in the war. Their dispute lasted no longer than until each party perceived that they might accomplish their own views, without obstruction from the other. The Latines, by leaving the place, freed themselves from the imputation of being concerned in a peace which they deemed dishonorable. The Antians, as soon as those were removed whose presence impeded their salutary designs, surrendered themselves and their territory to the Romans. The rage of the Latines, on finding that they could neither do any damage to the Romans in war, nor keep the Volscians any longer in arms, vented itself in setting fire to the city of Satricum, which had been their first place of refuge after defeat. Not a building in that city remained; for they threw their firebrands indiscriminately on those that belonged to gods and to men, except the temple of Mother Matuta; and from this they were withheld, not by any scruples of their own, or reverence towards the gods, but by a tremendous voice, which issued through the temple, with severe denunciations of vengeance, unless they removed their abominable fires to a distance from the temples. Inflamed with the same rage, they proceeded to Tusculum, in resentment of its having forsaken the general association of the Latines, and joined itself to the Romans, not only as an ally, but even as a member of their state. No notice being received there of their intention, they rushed in by the gates, and on the first

shout, made themselves masters of the whole town, excepting the citadel. Into this the townsmen had made their escape, with their wives and children, and sent messengers to Rome, to acquaint the senate with their misfortune. With no less expedition than became the honor of the Roman people, an army was despatched to Tusculum, commanded by Lucius Quintius and Servius Sulpicius, military tribunes. They found the gates of Tusculum shut, and the Latines acting the parts both of besiegers and besieged: on one side, defending the walls of the town; on the other, carrying on the attack of the citadel; at once striking terror into others, and feeling it themselves. The approach of the Romans made a great alteration in the minds of both parties: the despondency of the Tusculans it converted into the most joyful alacrity; and the assured confidence entertained by the Latines that they should quickly become masters of the citadel, as they were already of the town, into an anxiety almost hopeless for their own safety. The shout was now raised by the Tusculans from the citadel, and returned by a much louder one from the Roman army. The Latines were hard pressed on all sides; nor could they either sustain the force of the Tusculans, pouring down on them from the higher ground, or repel the Romans advancing to the walls, and forcing the bars of the gates. The walls first were mastered by scalade; the gates were then broken open; and the two enemies, pressing them in front and in rear, no strength being left for fight, no room for escape, they were surrounded and cut to pieces to a man. Tusculum being thus recovered from the enemy, the army returned to Rome.

34. In proportion to the degree of tranquillity which prevailed this year abroad, in consequence of the successes obtained in war, did the violence of the patricians, and the distresses of the commons, increase daily in the city; the necessity of immediate payment, of itself, impairing the ability to pay: so that having no means left of answering any demands out of their property, they were cast in suits, and ordered into custody.

Thus, at the expense of their reputations and persons, they satisfied their creditors; punishment being substituted in the place of money. In consequence of this, they sunk into such despondency, not only the lowest, but even the principal plebeians, that no man could be found adventurous enough either to stand candidate among patricians for the military tribuneship (a privilege which they had used such mighty efforts to obtain); or even to sue for and undertake the plebeian magistracies: insomuch, that it seemed as if the patricians had now recovered for ever the possession of that honor; and that it had been only usurped, for a few years, by the commons. The excessive joy which that party would have reaped from this event was prevented by a cause which was but trifling, as is very often the case, in comparison with the important consequences which it produced. Marcus Fabius Ambustus was a man of considerable weight among those of his own rank, and also among the commons, because they considered him as one who was not at all disposed to treat them with contempt: he had two daughters married, the elder to Servius Sulpicius, the younger to Caius Licinius Stolo, of high reputation, but a plebeian; and the very circumstance of Fabius not having scorned this alliance procured him favor in the minds of the populace. It happened, that while the two sisters were amusing themselves in conversation at the house of Servius Sulpicius, then military tribune, on Sulpicius' return home from the forum, one of his lictors, according to custom, rapped at the door with his rod: the younger Fabia, who was a stranger to the custom, being frightened at this, was laughed at by her sister, who was surprised at her ignorance of the matter. That laugh, however, left a sting in the other's breast; as the merest trifles will often affect the female mind. The crowd also of attendants, and of people offering their service, I suppose, made her think her sister happy in her marriage, and repine at her own; according to the so generally prevailing foible, for it is certain that scarcely any can bear to be surpassed by those nearest their own level.

While she was under great disquietude from this recent mortification, her father happened to see her, and asked 'Is all well?' and though she dissembled, at first, the cause of her uneasiness, because it was neither very consistent with the affection of a sister, nor very honorable to her husband, he, by tender inquiries, at length brought her to confess that her unhappiness arose from being united to an inferior, from being married into a house which neither dignities nor honors could enter. Ambustus then consoling his daughter, bade her keep up her spirits; for that she should shortly see in her own house the same honors which she saw at her sister's. He then, with his son-in-law, began to frame his designs; and in conjunction with Lucius Sextius, a young man of active talents, to whose hopes there appeared no impediment, except the want of patrician descent. -

35. The juncture appeared seasonable for the introduction of innovations, on account of the immense burden of debt, from which evil the commons could have no hope of relief, except some of their own order were placed in the administration of government. To that point they saw it necessary to direct their most vigorous exertions. The commons, by spirited endeavors and perseverance, had already gained one step towards it; from whence, if they struggled forward, they might arrive at the summit, and be placed on an equal footing with the patricians, in honor as well as in merit. It was resolved that at present there should be plebeian tribunes created; in which office the commons might find the means of opening for themselves a way to the other distinctions. [A. U. C. 379. B. C. 373.] Accordingly, Caius Lucinius and Lucius Sextus were elected tribunes, and proposed several new laws, every one of which was injurious to the power of the patricians, and in favor of the interest of the plebeians. One related to debt, enacting, that whatever had been paid as interest, being deducted from the principal, the remainder should be discharged in three years, by so many equal instalments. Another, setting bounds to

landed property, enacted, that no one should possess more than five hundred acres of land; a third, that there should be no election of military tribunes; and that one of the consuls should, indispensably, be chosen out of the commons: all points of the utmost consequence, and not to be accomplished without powerful struggles. When the patricians were thus challenged to contend, at once, for all those objects which excite the warmest desires in the human heart, they were terrified and dismayed; nor could they, either in their public or private consultations, devise any other remedy than the one which they had frequently tried before, a protest: accordingly, they engaged some of the tribunes to oppose the propositions of their colleagues. These, having collected about them a band of patricians for their support, as soon as they saw the tribes summoned by Licinius and Sextius to give their suffrages, refused to suffer either the proposition to be read, or any of the usual forms, in taking the votes of the people, to be gone through. After assemblies had been often called to no purpose, and the propositions were now considered as rejected, Sextius said to them, ‘It is very well; since it is determined that a protest shall carry such force in it, we will defend the commons with the same weapon. Come, patricians, proclaim an assembly for the election of military tribunes; I will take care that those words, ‘I forbid it,’ shall not be very pleasing in your ears, though you listen with such delight to our colleagues chanting them at present.’ Nor did his threats fall without effect; except for ediles and plebeian tribunes, there were no elections held. Licinius and Sextius being re-elected plebeian tribunes, suffered not any curule magistrates to be appointed; and, during the space of five years, the city was kept without magistrates in those offices, the commons constantly re-electing the two tribunes, and these preventing the election of military tribunes.

36. There had been a seasonable cessation of wars; but the colonists of Velitræ, grown wanton through

ease, and knowing that there was no army on foot at Rome, made several incursions into the Roman territory, and even laid siege to Tusculum. When, on this event, the Tusculans, their old allies and new fellow-citizens, implored assistance, not only the patricians, but even the commons, were moved, principally by a sense of honor; and the plebeian tribunes withdrawing their opposition, an election of military tribunes was held by an interrex, when Lucius Furius, Aulus Manlius, Servius Sulpicius, Servius Cornelius, and the two Valerii, Publius and Caius, were chosen into that office. [A. U. C. 385. B. C. 367.] These, in raising the levies, found not the same tractable temper in the commons which they had shown in the election: however, having, after very warm disputes, completed the number of troops, they began their march, and compelled the enemy, not only to retire from Tusculum, but to take shelter within their own walls; and Velitræ was then besieged by a much greater force than had threatened Tusculum. Yet the commanders, who conducted the siege, were not able to bring it to a conclusion before the new military tribunes were elected: these were, Quintus Servilius, Caius Veturius a second time, Aulus and Marcus Cornelius, Quintus Quintius, and Marcus Fabius. [A. U. C. 386. B. C. 366.] Neither did these, in their tribunate, perform any thing memorable at Velitræ. The dangerous state of affairs at home called more powerfully for their attention; for, besides Sextius and Licinius, the proposers of the laws, now re-elected the eighth time to the office of plebeian tribune, Fabius likewise, the military tribune, father-in-law of Stolo, without disguise, professed himself a supporter of those laws of which he had been an adviser: and whereas there had been, at first, among the plebeian tribunes, eight protesters against the laws, there were now only five; and these, as usual with men who desert their party, were embarrassed and perplexed. In expressions borrowed from others, they alleged, as a pretext for their protesting, merely what they had been privately in-

structed to say, that ‘a large share of the commons were absent in the army at Velitræ; that the assembly ought to be deferred until the soldiers returned, in order that the intire body of the commons might have an opportunity of giving their votes in matters wherein they were so deeply interested.’ Sextius and Licinius, in conjunction with the other part of their colleagues, and Fabius, one of the military tribunes, having, from the experience of so many years, acquired the art of managing the minds of the commons, called on the principal patricians, and teased them with interrogatories on each of the subjects proposed to the people: ‘Were they so shameless as to require that when the proportion of the plebeian was only two acres of land, they should be allowed to possess above five hundred acres each? That a single man should enjoy the share of near three hundred citizens; while a plebeian had scarcely an extent of land sufficient for a stinted habitation; or a place of burial? Did they think it reasonable that the commons, inextricably embarrassed by the accumulation of interest, should surrender their persons to the stocks, and to the harsh treatment of creditors, rather than that they should be allowed a discharge of the debt, on paying off the principal? That men should daily be driven in flocks from the forum, after being made over to their creditors? That the houses of the nobility should be filled with such prisoners? And that in the habitation of every patrician there should be a private prison?’

37. After painting those matters in the most invidious and pitiable colors, to an audience, whereof each individual was in dread that the case might become his own, and exciting in the hearers even greater indignation than they felt themselves, they went on to insist that ‘there never could be any stop put to the patricians engrossing the lands to themselves, and crushing the commons under the weight of interest, unless the latter should constitute one of the consuls out of their own body to be a guardian of their liberty. That the tribunes of the commons were now despised,

because those invested with that power, by the present practice of protests, rendered its own strength inefficacious. It was impossible to deal on equal terms, while the others held in their hands the power of command, and they only that of giving protection. Unless admitted to a share in the government, the commons could never enjoy an equal portion in the commonwealth. Nor ought it to be thought sufficient that plebeians should be allowed to stand candidates at the election of consuls; none of them would ever be elected, unless it were made an indispensable rule that one consul must, necessarily, be taken from among the commons. Had they now forgotten, that though the practice of electing military tribunes, rather than consuls, had been instituted for the very purpose of opening the highest honors to the plebeians, yet, during a space of forty-four years, not one plebeian had been elected into that office? How then could they believe that when there were but two places to be filled, those men would voluntarily bestow a share of the honor on the commons, who were accustomed to monopolise the whole eight places at the election of military tribunes? That they would suffer a passage to be laid open to the consulship, who, for such a length of time, had kept the tribuneship so closely fenced up? They must acquire by a law what they could not accomplish by influence at elections; and one consul's place must be set apart, beyond the reach of contest, to which the commons may have access; since as long as it is left subject to dispute, it will ever become the prize of the more powerful. Nor could the nobles now pretend to say, what formerly they had been fond of asserting, that there were not to be found among the plebeians men qualified for the curule offices: for, were the administration of government conducted with less diligence and vigor since the tribunate of Publius Lucinius Calvus, the first plebeian elected, than during those years in which none but patricians were military tribunes? Nay, on the contrary, several patricians, on the expiration of their office, had been condemned

for misconduct, but never one plebeian. Questors too, in like manner as military tribunes, began a few years before to be elected out of the commons: nor had the Roman people seen reason to be displeased with any one of them. The consulship now remained to be attained by the plebeians; that was the bulwark, that the basis of their liberty. Could they once arrive at that, then indeed the Roman people would be satisfied that kings were really banished from the city, and liberty settled on a sure foundation: for, from that day, every advantage, in which the patricians now surpassed them, would come into the possession of the commons; command and honor, military glory, birth, nobility, all highly valuable to themselves in the present enjoyment, and which they could leave, with an increase of value, to their children.' Finding such discourses favorably attended to, they published another proposition: that instead of two commissioners for performing religious rites, ten should be appointed, half of whom should be plebeians, half patricians; and they deferred the meeting, which was to decide on all these matters, until the troops, then engaged in the siege of Velitræ, should return.

38. The year expired before the legions were brought home from Velitræ [A. U. C. 387. B. C. 365]; and consequently the affair of the laws remained suspended, and was handed over to the new military tribunes; for as to the plebeian tribunes, the commons re-elected the same; particularly the two who had proposed the laws. The military tribunes elected were Titus Quintius, Servius Cornelius, Servius Sulpicius, Spurius Servilius, Lucius Papirius, and Lucius Veturius. Immediately on the commencement of the new year the contest about the laws was pushed to extremity; and when, on the tribes being assembled, the proposers of the laws persisted in their proceedings, in spite of the protests of their colleagues, the patricians were so alarmed that they recurred for aid to their last resource, an office superior to all others in power, and a citizen superior to all others in reputation. It was re-

solved that a dictator should be appointed. Accordingly Marcus Furius Camillus was nominated, and he chose Lucius Æmilius master of the horse. On the other side, the proposers of the laws, in opposition to this great effort of their adversaries, with determined resolution, collected every means of strength in aid of the plebeian cause; and, summoning an assembly of the people, cited the tribes to give their votes. The dictator, attended by a band of patricians, having taken his seat, with many angry and menacing expressions, the business, at first, produced the usual contest among the plebeian tribunes; some of them supporting the law, and others protesting against it. But their protest, which by right ought to have prevailed, being nevertheless overpowered by the people's warm attachment to the laws themselves, and to the promoters of them; and the first tribes having pronounced, 'Be it as you propose;' Camillus said, 'Roman citizens, since the headstrong passions of your tribunes, not their legal authority, rule your proceedings; and since, after having at the expense of a secession procured the privilege of protesting, you now yourselves invalidate it, by the same violence through which you obtained it; I, as dictator, out of regard, as well to your particular interest, as to the general interest of the commonwealth, will support the right of protesting; and, by the power of my authority, will defend your rights of protection, which you endeavor to betray. Wherefore, if Caius Licinius and Lucius Sextius will give way to the protest of their colleagues, I shall be far from introducing the authority of a patrician magistrate into an assembly of the commons. But if, in opposition to, the protest, they persist in their attempt to impose laws on the state, as if it were under captivity to them, I will not suffer the tribunitian power to be brought to dissolution by its own act.' The tribunes, in contempt of this declaration, still proceeding in the business with unabated activity, Camillus was so highly provoked, that he sent his lictors to disperse the commons; adding threats, that 'if they

persisted, he would compel every one of the younger men to take the military oath, and would instantly lead an army out of the city.' This struck great terror into the populace; but the opposition served rather to inflame than lessen the resolution of their leaders. However, before the dispute was brought to any decision, the dictator abdicated his office; either because some informality was discovered in his appointment, as some writers have said; or because the plebeian tribunes proposed to the commons, and the commons passed it into an order, that if Marcus Furius Camillus performed an act as dictator he should be fined five hundred thousand asses.¹ But the following considerations induce me to believe that he was deterred from acting rather by a defect in the auspices than by such an unprecedented order: first, the temper of the man himself; then Publius Manlius being immediately substituted in his room. What end could it answer to appoint him for managing a dispute in which Camillus had been worsted? Besides, the year following the same Camillus was created dictator, and he certainly could not, without shame, have resumed an authority which had been foiled in his hands the year before. At the time too, when the proposition about fining him is reported to have been published, he must either have had power sufficient to have prevented the passing of this order, by which he saw himself degraded, or else he could not have been able to oppose the others, on account of which this was introduced; for through the whole course of the various disputes, in regard to the authority of the tribunes, and that of the consuls even down to our memory, the dictatorship ever held a decided pre-eminence over both.

39. During the interval between the abdication of the former dictator and the new one, Manlius, entering into office, as if it were an interregnum, the tribunes summoned an assembly of the people; and it

¹ 161*l.* 11*s.* 8*d.*

was there discovered which of the laws proposed were favorites of the public, and which of the proposers: for the commons passed those which respected interest of money and the lands, and rejected the one respecting a plebeian consul; both which decisions would have been carried into effect had not the tribunes insisted that they had put the question to the assembly on the whole of the laws collectively. Publius Manlius then turned the advantage to the side of the commons, by nominating as his master of the horse a plebeian, Caius Licinius, who had been military tribune. This, we are informed, gave much displeasure to the patricians, to whom the dictator apologised for his conduct, alleging the near relationship between him and Licinius; at the same time asserting that the post of master of the horse was no way superior to that of consular tribune. When the assembly for electing plebeian tribunes was proclaimed, Licinius and Sextius conducted themselves in such a manner that, while they professed an unwillingness any longer to be continued in office, they applied to the commons the most powerful incentives, towards the effectuating of that purpose, which, from their dissimulation in the above particular, they seemed little desirous to promote: telling them that 'they were now standing the ninth year, as it were in battle array against the nobility, with the greatest danger to their own particular interests, and without any advantage to the public. That, as they were now grown old, so, together with them, both the propositions which they had published, and the whole tribunitian power, were fallen into a state of languor. At first, the attack was carried on against their propositions by the protest of their colleagues; then, by banishing the younger citizens to the war of Velitræ; at last the dictatorial thunder had been levelled against themselves. At present, neither colleagues, nor war, nor dictator stood in their way; for the latter had even, by nominating a plebeian master of the horse, given them an omen of a plebeian consul. The commons were the only obstruc-

tion to themselves, and to their own interests. They could, if they chose it, immediately have the city and the forum free from creditors, and the lands free from unjust occupiers. And when would they ever consider these kindnesses with proper gratitude, if at the very time when they were receiving plans for their own advantage they precluded the authors of them from all hope of distinction? It was not suitable with the candor of the Roman people to require that the burden of interest money should be taken off from them, and that they should be introduced into the possession of the lands unjustly occupied by the powerful, and at the same time leave the persons, through whose means they acquired those lands, to grow old in the quality of tribunitians, not only without honors, but even without hope of them. Wherefore, let them first determine in their own minds what choice they would make, and then notify that choice, in the election of their tribunes. If they chose that the propositions published by them should be passed collectively, then there would be some reason for re-electing the same tribunes; for they would carry into effect their own wishes. But, if they chose that nothing more should pass, than what each found necessary to his private affairs, there would then be no occasion for the invidious mode of re-election; and, as they would fail of obtaining the tribuneship, so would the people of obtaining the matters proposed to them.'

40. On hearing such peremptory language from the tribunes, and whilst amazement, at the insolence of their behavior, held the rest of the patricians motionless and silent, Appius Claudius Crassus, grandson of the decemvir, is said to have stood forth to combat their argument; and, prompted rather by hatred and anger than by hope of success, to have spoken to this effect: 'Roman citizens, to me it would be neither new nor surprising, if I should hear applied to myself, on the present occasion, the same charge which has always been objected by seditious tribunes to our family, that the Claudian race, even from the very beginning, has

shown a more zealous attachment to the dignity of the patricians than to any other object in the state, and that they have constantly opposed the interests of the commons. One of these assertions neither I nor any of the Claudii will deny; that, from the time when we were first adopted, and admitted into the order of the patricians, we have earnestly endeavored that the dignity of those families, among which you were pleased to place us, might truly be said to have been augmented, rather than diminished, through our means. As to the other declaration, I can take on myself to insist and maintain, in behalf of myself and of my ancestors, that, unless we are to suppose that actions, which tend to the general good of the state are injurious to the commons, as if they were inhabitants of another city, we never either in our private capacity, or in office, proceeded knowingly, in any instance, to the detriment of those commons; and that there cannot, consistently with truth, be mentioned any one act or word of ours contrary to your interest; though some indeed there may have been contrary to your inclinations. But even were I not of the Claudian family, nor sprung from patrician blood, but an individual in the general mass of citizens, only supposing me sensible that I was descended from free-born parents, and that I lived in a free state, could I keep silence in such a case as this, when Lucius Sextius, and Caius Licinius, perpetual tribunes, as it seems, have, during the nine years in which they have reigned, acquired such a degree of arrogance, as to declare that they will not allow you freedom of suffrage, either in elections or in enacting laws? On a certain condition, one of them says, 'you shall re-elect us tribunes a tenth time.' What else is this, than if he said, 'what others court, we disdain, so far, that without a valuable consideration we will not accept of it?' And now, I pray you, what is that consideration for which we may have you perpetually tribunes of the commons? Why, he tells you it is, that you admit all our propositions collectively, be they pleasing or displeasing, profitable or unprofitable. Let

me intreat you, you Tarquinii, who are tribunes of the commons, to suppose that I, one of the citizens, called out in reply to you from the middle of the assembly: with your good leave, let us be permitted to choose, out of these propositions, such as we judge salutary to ourselves, and to reject others. ‘No,’ says he, ‘you shall have no such permission.’ Must you enact, concerning interest of money and lands, which tends to the good of every one of yourselves, and must not the prodigy of seeing Lucius Sextius and Caius Licinius consuls take place in the city of Rome, because you view it with scorn and abhorrence? Either admit all, or I propose nothing. Just as if, before a person pressed with hunger, one were to lay food and poison together, and then to order him either to abstain from what would minister to life, or to mix along with it what would cause death. If then this state were really free, would not the whole assembly have replied to you thus; ‘begone, with your tribuneships and your propositions?’ What! if you do not propose that which is advantageous to the people to admit; can there be no other found to procure them advantages? If any patrician (or what they wish to be thought more invidious), if a Claudian should say, ‘either admit all, or I propose nothing,’ what man among you, citizens, would endure it? Will you never learn to attend to facts, rather than persons? For ever listen with partial ears to every thing uttered by men of their office, and with prejudice to what is said by any of us? But surely their language is very different from what becomes members of a republic: and what shall we say of their proposal, which they are so incensed at your rejecting? It is exactly of a piece, citizens, with their language. He says, ‘I desire it may be enacted that it shall not be lawful for you to elect into the consulship such persons as you may approve:’ for can he mean otherwise who orders that one consul must necessarily be taken from the plebeians, and does not allow you the power of electing two patricians? If wars were to be waged now, such as the Etrurian, for instance, when Porsena

lay on the Janiculum ; or, as the Gallic lately, when, except the capitol and citadel, all places were in possession of the enemy, and that Lucius Sextius stood candidate for the consulship with Camillus, would you be able to bear, that Sextius should, without any competition, be made consul, while Camillus would be obliged to struggle against the danger of a repulse ? Is this to introduce a community of honors ? to make it lawful for two plebeians, but unlawful for two patricians to be chosen consuls. To make it necessary to elect one plebeian, but allowable to pass by all the patricians ; what sort of fellowship, what sort of confederacy is this ? Are you not satisfied with obtaining a part of that in which hitherto you have had no concern ? must you be laying violent hands on the whole ? ‘ I fear,’ says Sextius, ‘ that if you are at liberty to elect two patricians, you will elect no plebeian.’ What is this but to say, because you would not of your own choice elect unworthy persons, I will impose on you a necessity of admitting them without choice ? What follows, but that, if one plebeian be named, together with two patricians, he is not even under an obligation to the people, and may say that he was appointed by the law, and not elected by their suffrages ?

41. ‘ The power of extorting, not of suing for honors, is what they aim at ; and to attain the most exalted without incurring the obligations even of the lowest : they choose also to make their way to them by means of accidental successes, rather than by merit. Is there any man who can think it an affront to have his character inspected and estimated ? Who can deem it reasonable, that he alone, amidst struggling competitors, should have a certainty of obtaining honors ? Who would exempt himself from your judgment ? Who would render your suffrages necessary (if suffrages I must say) instead of voluntary ; servile instead of free ? Not to mention Licinius and Sextius, the years of whose perpetuated power, as if they were kings, you number in the capitol, what man is there this day in the state so mean, that he might not by the

opportunities created by this law, make his way to the consulship with greater ease than we or our children? since, in some cases, it will not be in your power to elect us, though you wish it, and you will be under a necessity of electing them, though against your will. Of the injury offered to merit I shall say no more, for merit regards only the human race. But what shall I say with respect to religion and the auspices; the affront and injury offered to which reflect immediately on the immortal gods? That this city was founded under auspices; that all business, civil and military, foreign and domestic, is conducted under them, who can be ignorant? In whom therefore is the privilege of auspices vested according to the constitution of our forefathers? In the patricians undoubtedly. For no plebeian magistrate is even so elected. So peculiar to us are the auspices, that the patrician magistrates, whom the people may approve, can be in no other manner elected; while we ourselves, without the suffrages of the people, create an interrex, under auspices; and in private stations also hold such privilege, which they do not, even when in office. Does not he then, in effect, abolish the auspices, who by creating plebeian consuls, takes them out of the hands of the patricians, the only persons capable of holding them? They may now mock at religion, and say, where is the great matter, if the chickens do not feed? If they come out too slowly from the coop? If a bird chant an ominous note? These are trivial matters: but by not disregarding these trivial matters our ancestors raised this state to the highest eminence. In the present times, as if we stood in no need of the favor of the gods, we violate all religious institutions. Let therefore pontiffs, augurs, kings of the sacrifices, be chosen at random. Let us place the tiara of Jupiter's flamen on any one that offers, provided he be a man. Let us commit the ancilia, the shrines, the gods, and the charge of their worship, to persons to whom they cannot without impiety be intrusted. Let neither laws be enacted, nor magistrates elected under auspices. Let not the approbation of the senate be requisite, either to the as-

semblies of the centuries, or of the *curias*. Let *Sextius* and *Licinius*, like *Romulus* and *Tatius*, reign in the city of Rome, in return for their generosity in plundering from other men's fortunes: in giving away other men's money and lands, does it not occur to you, that by one of these laws great part of the possessions must be converted into desolate wilds, in consequence of the owners being expelled from them? by the other, that credit would be annihilated, by which all human society must be at an end? For every reason, then, I am of opinion, that you ought to reject those propositions altogether. Whatever is your determination, may the gods grant it a happy issue.'

42. The speech of *Appius* produced no other effect than the putting off the decision on the propositions to another time. *Sextius* and *Licinius*, being again re-elected tribunes, the tenth time, procured a law to be enacted, that of the *decemvirs* for superintending religious matters half should be chosen from among the commons. Accordingly, five patricians were elected, and five plebeians. Which step being gained, the way seemed open to the consulship. Satisfied with this victory, the commons conceded so far to the patricians that, no mention being made of consuls for the present, military tribunes should be elected. [A. U. C. 388. B. C. 364.] The election fell on *Aulus* and *Marcus Cornelius* a second time, *Marcus Geganius*, *Publius Manlius*, *Lucius Veturius*, and *Publius Valerius* a sixth time. Except the siege of *Velitræ*, an affair of which the issue was rather tedious than doubtful, the Romans were undisturbed by any foreign concerns, when a sudden report of the Gauls approaching in arms occasioned so great an alarm that *Marcus Furius Camillus* was appointed dictator the fifth time, and he nominated *Titus Quintius Pennus* master of horse. *Claudius* asserts that a battle was fought with the Gauls this year, on the banks of the river *Anio*, and that at this time happened the famous combat on the bridge, in which *Titus Manlius*, engaging with a Gaul who had challenged him, slew him in the sight of the two armies, and spoiled him of a chain. But I am led

by the authority of many writers to believe that these events happened at least ten years later ; and that a pitched battle was now fought with the Gauls by the dictator Camillus, in the territory of Alba. The victory was neither doubtful, nor obtained with difficulty by the Romans ; although, from people's recollection of former misfortunes, the coming of the Gauls had diffused very great terror. Many thousands of the barbarians were slain in the field, and great numbers in the storming of their camp. The rest dispersing, mostly towards Apulia, escaped, partly by continuing their flight to a great distance ; and partly by being, through dismay and terror, scattered widely in different quarters. The dictator had a triumph decreed him, with the concurrence of the senate and commons. Scarcely however had he got rid of the business of this war, than he found employment from a more violent commotion at home : and the issue of an obstinate struggle was, that the dictator and senate were overpowered, and the proposition of the tribunes admitted. In consequence, an election of consuls was held in spite of the opposition of the nobility, in which Lucius Sextius was made consul, the first of plebeian rank. Nor did the disputes end even here. The patricians refusing to give their approbation, the affair was likely to produce a secession of the commons, with dreadful consequences, when their dissensions were accommodated on terms, by the interposition of the dictator. The nobility made concessions to the commons with respect to the plebeian consul, and the commons to the nobility with respect to one pretor to be elected out of the patricians to administer justice in the city. Concord being by these means restored between the orders, after such a long continuance of mutual animosity, the senate were of opinion that such an event deserved to be signalised by an exhibition of the most magnificent games, and by the addition of another day to the usual three of the Latine festival ; expecting on this occasion, if on any whatever, to find a general willingness to show that testimony of gratitude to the immortal

gods. But the plebeian ediles refused to undertake the business: on which the younger patricians, with one accord, cried out, that out of their desire of paying due honor to the deities, they would with pleasure perform it, provided they were appointed ediles. Their offer was accepted with universal thanks, and the senate decreed that the dictator should propose to the people to appoint two of the patricians to the office of ediles; and that the senate would give their approbation to all the elections made in that year.

BOOK VII.

CHAP. 1. THIS year [A.U.C. 389. B.C. 363] will ever be remarkable for the consulship of a man of no ancestry; and remarkable also, for the institution of two new public offices, the pretorship and the curule edileship. These honors the patricians claimed to themselves, as a compensation for their concession of one consul's place to the plebeians. The commons gave the consulship to Lucius Sextius, the introducer of the law by which it was obtained. The patricians, by their influence among the people, gained the pretorship for Spurius Furius Camillus, son of Marcus; and the edileship for Cneius Quintius Capitolinus and Publius Cornelius Scipio, men of their own rank. The patrician colleague, given to Lucius Sextius, was Lucius Æmilius Mamercinus. In the beginning of the year rumors were spread concerning the Gauls, who, after having been dispersed over Apulia, were now said to be collecting themselves into a body; and also concerning a revolt of the Hernicians. But all kinds of business were purposely deferred, lest the plebeian consul

should have an opportunity of performing any service, and silence was as much observed on every subject as though it had been proclaimed. The tribunes, however, did not suffer it to pass unnoticed that the patricians, by way of requital for one plebeian consulship, had assumed to themselves three patrician magistrates, sitting in curule chairs, and clad in robes of state like consuls; the pretor even administering justice, as a colleague to the consuls, and elected under the same auspices. In consequence of this the senate were afterwards ashamed to order that the curule ediles should be chosen from among the patricians. It was at first agreed that plebeians should be appointed every second year, but in after time the choice was left open. In the consulate of Lucius Genucius and Quintus Servilius, [A. U. C. 390. B. C. 362] who immediately succeeded, though affairs were tranquil both at home and abroad, yet, as if at no time there could be an exemption from danger and alarm, a pestilence broke out with great violence: a censor, a curule edile, and three plebeian tribunes, are said to have fallen victims to it, while its ravages among the populace were proportionably numerous; but this calamity was rendered memorable chiefly by the death of Marcus Furius Camillus, whose loss, though at an advanced period of life, was much to be regretted: he was, in truth, a man singularly eminent in every change of fortune: before he went into banishment, the first person in the state, as well in civil as military departments; in exile, still more illustrious, whether we consider the disaster by which the nation was induced to supplicate his return, or his own successful conduct, by which, on being restored to his country, he effected that country's liberation, and justified his own fair claim to celebrity. He then, through a course of twenty-five years after, uniformly maintained a character equal to this high rank of glory, allowed on all hands as deserving of being reckoned, next to Romulus, a second founder of the city of Rome.

2. The pestilence continuing during both this and

the following year, [A. U. C. 391. B. C. 361] in which Caius Sulpicius Pæticus and Caius Licinius Stolo were consuls, nothing memorable was transacted; only that, for the purpose of soliciting the favor of the gods, the lectisternium was performed the third time since the building of the city. But the disorder receiving no alleviation, either from human wisdom or divine aid, the strength of the people's minds became almost overpowered by superstition, and it is said that, on this occasion, among other devices for appeasing the wrath of heaven, scenic plays were introduced; a new thing to a warlike people; for hitherto there had been only the shows of the circus. However, this kind of performance was, as in general all beginnings are, but a trifling matter, and even that borrowed from abroad. Actors were sent for from Etruria, who, though without any poetical language, or any gestures correspondent to such language, yet regulating their motions by the measures of the music, exhibited, in the Tuscan manner, something far from ungraceful. The younger citizens soon began to imitate these; throwing out, at the same time, among each other, ludicrous expressions in coarse verses, and with gestures adapted to the words: this kind of performance then being received with approbation, in the course of frequent practice gained much improvement. The native performers were called *Histriones*, from the Tuscan word *Hister*, signifying a player; and they did not, as formerly, pronounce alternately, without regard to order, verses like the *Fescennine*, artless and unpolished, but represented comic medleys, composed in regular metre, with the several parts of the performance properly adjusted to the music; the delivery of the words and the gesticulation being performed in concert with the music. Several years after this, *Livius*,¹ who was the first that ventured to lay aside medleys, and to digest a story into a regular plot, being also, as all were at that time, the actor of his own pieces; and, having broken his voice by being

¹ *Livius Andronicus*, a freedman of Marcus Livius Salinator, began to write about the year of Rome 512.

obliged to repeat them too often, after requesting the indulgence of the public, placed a boy before the musician to chant,¹ while he himself performed the gesticulations. And this he executed with much freer action, because disengaged from attention to the management of his voice. Hence originated the practice of the chanting being performed by another to the gesticulation of the actors, whose voices were eased of all but the dialogue. When, by this regulation, the scenic business was directed to other objects than laughter and intemperate mirth, and the amusement was by degrees converted into an art, the younger citizens, leaving to professed actors the exhibition of plays, began, according to the ancient practice, to throw out alternately ludicrous jests, comprised in verse, which thence got the name of *exodia*, or interludes, and were collected principally out of the *Atellan farces*.² This kind of entertainment, thus borrowed from *Oscia*, these younger citizens kept in their own hands, not suffering it to be debased by professed players: for this reason the rule was established, which is still observed, that the actors of these *Atellan farces* are not degraded from their tribe, and are capable of serving in the army, as if no way concerned in the business of the stage. Among the trifling beginnings of other matters, I thought it not amiss to give a view of the origin of theatrical exhibitions also, in order to show, from a moderate setting out, to what an intolerable extravagance they have proceeded; such extravagance, indeed, as scarcely to be supported by opulent kingdoms.

3. However, this introduction of stage plays, intended as a pious expiation, neither relieved men's minds from religious dread, nor their bodies from the disorder: so far otherwise, that an inundation of the

¹ It was customary at the end of every act to chant a set of verses, accompanied by the music, and with correspondent gesticulations.

² The *Atellan farces* were borrowed from *Atella*, a town in *Oscia*, which was a district of *Campania*, comprehending the two states of the *Auruncians* and *Sidicinians*.

Tiber, happening to overflow the circus, and to interrupt a play in the middle of the performance, that incident excited the utmost degree of terror, as it was deemed a token of the displeasure of the gods, and that they disdained the atonements offered to their wrath. Wherefore in the next consulate of Cneius Genucius, and Lucius Æmilius Mamercinus a second time, [A. U. C. 392. B. C. 360] people's minds being more harassed in searching for expiations than their bodies by the sickness, it was collected from the memory of some of the more aged that a pestilence had formerly ceased on the nail being driven by a dictator. The senate were so superstitious on the occasion, as to order a dictator to be appointed for the purpose of driving the nail: Lucius Manlius Imperiosus was accordingly nominated, and he appointed Lucius Pinarius master of the horse. There is an obsolete law, written in antique letters and words, that whoever is supreme officer should drive a nail on the ides of September. It used to be driven into the right side of the temple of Jupiter supremely great and good, in that part where the statue of Minerva stands. This nail, it is said, served as a mark of the number of years elapsed, the use of letters being rare in those times; and the law directed the ceremony to the temple of Minerva, because the use of numbers was an invention of that goddess. Cincius, a diligent inquirer into such monuments of antiquity, assures us, that there were to be seen among the Volscians also nails fixed in the temple of the Tuscan goddess Nortia, by which they kept account of the number of years. Marcus Horatius, being then consul, first performed this ceremony in obedience to the law at the temple of Jupiter supremely good and great, in the year after the expulsion of the kings. Afterwards the solemnity of driving the nail was transferred from the consuls to a dictator, because this was a superior office: the custom was dropped in after times, but it was now deemed an affair of sufficient importance in itself to require the nomination of a chief. Manlius, who was ap-

pointed for the purpose, as if he had been commissioned to manage the affairs of the state in general, and not merely to acquit it of a religious duty, being ambitious of commanding an army against the Hernicians, harassed the youth by a rigorous severity in levying troops, until at length all the plebeian tribunes united to oppose him ; and then overcome, either by force or shame, he resigned the dictatorship.

4. Notwithstanding which, in the beginning of the next year, [A. U. C. 393. B. C. 369] Quintus Servilius Ahala, and Lucius Genucius a second time, being consuls, a criminal prosecution was commenced against Manlius, by Marcus Pomponius, a plebeian tribune. His rigor in the levies, which he had carried, not only to the fining of the citizens, but even to the wounding of their persons, (those who refused to answer to their names being some beaten with rods, others loaded with chains,) had excited a general hatred against him ; but more obnoxious than all were his impetuous temper, and the surname of Imperiosus, which he had assumed out of an ostentation of severity, a quality which appeared not more conspicuously in his behavior to strangers, than to the persons most closely connected with him, and to those of his own blood. One of the charges brought against him by the tribune was, that ' he had banished his son, a youth convicted of no dishonorable act, from the city, from his house, from his tutelar gods, from the forum ; prohibited him the enjoyment of the light, and of the conversation of his equals ; having reduced him to work like a slave, in a kind of prison or work-house, and thus had one of the most distinguished birth, of dictatorian rank, learned, from his daily sufferings, that he was born of a father really imperious. And for what fault? Because he was not endowed with eloquence, nor ready in discourse. And whether ought the father, if he had a particle of humanity in him, to apply gentle remedies to a natural defect, or to attempt to correct it by punishment, and cause it to be more noticed by a course of harsh treatment? Even beasts, if any of their off-

spring chance to be unhappily formed, are nevertheless careful in nourishing and cherishing it. But Manlius aggravated the misfortune of his son, and clogged the slowness of his capacity with additional impediments; and whatever spark of natural ability he possessed, took the method to extinguish it by accustoming him to a rustic life and clownish manners, keeping him among his cattle.'

5. By these charges every one was highly incensed against Manlius, except the young man himself: on the contrary, grieving that he should be the cause of hatred and accusations against his parent, in order to demonstrate to gods and men that he wished support to his father rather than to his enemies, he formed a design, which, though not reconcileable to the rules of civil society, was yet commendable in its principle of filial duty. Having provided himself with a dagger, he came to the city, without the knowledge of any one, early in the morning, and proceeding directly to the house of Marcus Pomponius the tribune, told the porter that he wanted to see his master immediately, and desired him to acquaint him that Titus Manlius, the son of Lucius, was there. He was immediately introduced; for the other hoped that he came inflamed with resentment against his father, and had brought either some new matter for accusation, or some scheme for accomplishing the design. Manlius then, after mutual salutations, told him that he wished to confer with him on some business in private. All who were present being ordered to withdraw to a distance from the apartment, he drew his dagger, and standing over the couch with the weapon ready to strike, threatened to stab him that moment, if he did not swear, in the words which he should dictate, that he 'never would hold a meeting of the commons for the purpose of prosecuting his father.' The tribune, affrighted at seeing the steel glittering before his eyes, himself alone and unarmed, the other a young man, his superior in strength, and what was no less terrifying, full of savage ferocity from consciousness of his strength,

swore in the terms enjoined him: and afterwards alleged this sorry proceeding as his reason for desisting from his undertaking. Nor did the people conceive any displeasure at so bold an attempt of a son in behalf of his parent, although they would have been much better pleased to have had an opportunity of passing sentence on a culprit of such a cruel and tyrannical disposition; and it was thought the more commendable in him, that the excessive rigor of his father had not erased from his mind the love of him. Wherefore, besides the father being excused from standing a trial, that very affair was also productive of honors to the son; and on its being determined that year, for the first time, that the tribunes of the soldiers for the legions should be appointed by votes of the people, (for until then the commanders used to appoint them of their own authority, as they do at present those termed *Ruffuli*,) he obtained the second place among six, though not recommended to public favor by any merit, either in a civil or military line, having spent his youth in the country, and out of the way of any intercourse with the world.

6. In the same year, we are told, the earth near the middle of the forum, in consequence either of an earthquake, or some other violent cause, sunk down to an immense depth, forming a vast aperture; nor could the gulf be filled up by all the earth which they could throw into it, though every one exerted himself in bringing it thither, until, pursuant to advice of the gods, they set about inquiring what it was which constituted the principal strength of the Roman people; for, according to the responses of the soothsayers, that must be devoted to this place, if they wished that the Roman commonwealth should be everlasting. Then they tell us that *Marcus Curtius*, a youth highly distinguished by his military exploits, reproved them for deliberating whether Rome was possessed of any greater good than arms and valor; and, on this, silence being made, throwing his eyes round to the temples of the gods within view of the forum, and to the capitol,

and extending his hands, at one time towards heaven, at another towards the infernal gods, through the gaping aperture of the earth he devoted himself as a victim. Then having dressed himself in complete armor and mounted a horse accoutred with the most gorgeous furniture which could be procured, he plunged into the opening, and the multitude, men and women, threw in over him their offerings, and quantities of the fruits of the earth; and thus it is said the lake received its name, and not as is supposed by some, from Mettius Curtius, the ancient soldier of Titus Tatius. If there were any way of coming at the truth, no diligence should be wanting, on my part, in the pursuit of it: but now, when the distance of time precludes all certain evidence, we must abide by the reports of tradition, and account for the name of the lake from this latter fable. This great prodigy being expiated, the senate, during the same year, taking the affair of the Hernicians into consideration, voted (after sending heralds to demand satisfaction, without effect) that on the first proper day the sense of the people should be taken on the subject of a declaration of war against them, and the people in full assembly ordered it. The province fell by lot to the consul Lucius Genucius: and now the whole state was in anxious suspense; because, being the first plebeian who, in quality of consul, was to wage war under his own auspices, the issue of the expedition would furnish an opportunity of judging of the wisdom or imprudence of introducing a community of honors. Fortune so ordered it, that Genucius marching against the enemy with a powerful force, fell into an ambush, where the legions being seized with a sudden panic and routed, the consul was surrounded and slain by persons who knew not at the time who they had killed. When the news of this was brought to Rome, the patricians, who were not so much grieved at the calamity of the public as they were elated at the ill success attending the command of a plebeian consul, every where exclaimed, 'Let them go now and elect plebeian consuls; yet transfer the auspices, they could

not without impiety. The patricians might indeed by a vote of the people be driven from the possession of their own peculiar honors; but had this inauspicious law been able to prevail likewise against the immortal gods? These had interposed to vindicate their own authority, their own auspices; for no sooner had these been defiled by a person prohibited by divine and human laws, than the destruction of their army, together with their commander, had given them warning not to conduct elections in such a manner hereafter as to confound the rights of birth.' The senate-house and the forum resounded with such expressions. Appius Claudius, who had argued against the law, and therefore with greater authority blamed the people now for the issue of a scheme of which he had manifested his disapprobation, was, at the general desire of the patricians, nominated dictator by the consul Servilius, and proclamation was issued for a levy and a cessation of business.

7. Before the arrival of the dictator and the new legions at the place where the Hernicians lay, Caius Sulpicius, the lieutenant-general, who held the command, making use of an opportunity which offered, fought the enemy with brilliant success. After the death of the consul the Hernicians had advanced towards the Roman camp in a contemptuous manner, confident, beyond doubt, of becoming masters of it; on which the soldiers, burning with rage and indignation, and encouraged by the lieutenant-general, sallied out on them. The Hernicians were so widely disappointed in their hopes of approaching the rampart, that they were obliged to retire in great confusion. Soon after, by the arrival of the dictator, the new army was joined to the old, and the forces doubled. The dictator, by bestowing commendations in a public speech on the lieutenant-general and the soldiers, by whose bravery the camp had been defended, animated still farther the courage of those who heard their own praises justly set forth, and stimulated the rest to emulation of their merit. Nor were the preparations for

action less vigorous on the side of the enemy ; mindful of the honor which they had before acquired, and not ignorant of the addition to the strength of the Romans, they applied themselves to augment their own likewise. The whole Hernician race, every man of military age, was called out. Eight cohorts were formed, consisting each of four hundred men, the ablest which could be chosen out of all their number. This select body, the flower of their youth, they also filled with hope and spirits by a decree that they should receive double pay : they were, besides, excused from military works, in order that, being reserved intirely for the single labor of fighting, they might be sensible that they ought to make exertions beyond what was expected from the generality of men : even an extraordinary post in the field was allotted them, that their valor might be the more conspicuous. A plain of two miles in breadth separated the Roman camp from that of the Hernicians ; in the middle of this, the spaces being nearly equal on both sides, they came to an engagement. The fight was maintained for some time without any apparent advantage, the Roman cavalry making many fruitless attempts to disorder the enemy's line by their charge : but when they found that, acting as cavalry, they could produce no effect in proportion to their efforts, the horsemen, after first consulting the dictator, and obtaining his permission, dismounted from their horses, rushed forward, with a loud shout, before the line, and recommenced the fight in a new mode. Nor could they have been resisted, had not the extraordinary cohorts, their equals in vigor both of body and mind, thrown themselves in their way.

8. The contest then lay between the nobility of the two nations. Whatever the common chance of war carried off from the one side or the other was a loss to be estimated on a much higher scale than that of the numbers. The rest, an armed populace, as if they had delegated the fight to their nobles, rested the issue of their own cause on the bravery of the others. Many

fell on both sides; more were wounded. At length the horsemen, chiding each other, began to ask, 'In what manner they were to act next? since, neither on horseback had they made an impression on the enemy, nor on foot were performing any service of consequence? What other method of fighting did they wait for? To what purpose was their rushing forward so fiercely before the line, and their combating in a post which did not belong to them?' Animated by these mutual reproaches, they raised the shout anew, pressed forward, and compelled the enemy, first to shrink, then to give way, and at last fairly drove them off the field. It is not here easy to say what circumstance turned the advantage against strength so equally matched with their own; unless it were that the fortune, which continually attended each nation, had power both to exalt and to depress courage. The Romans pursued the flying Hernicians to their camp; but they did not choose to attack it, because it was then late in the day. Some delay in finishing the sacrifices with success had detained the dictator, so that he could not give the signal before noon, and, in consequence, the battle had lasted until night. Next day the camp of the Hernicians was found deserted, and many of their wounded left behind. Their main body, as they fled, was attacked by the Signians, who observing, as they passed by their walls, that their standards were but thinly attended, routed and dispersed them through the country in precipitate flight. Nor did the Romans gain the victory without bloodshed; a fourth part of their soldiers perished, and, what was a loss of no less importance, several of the Roman horsemen fell.

9. In the year following [A. U. C. 394. B. C. 358] the consuls, Caius Sulpicius and Caius Licinius Calvus, led an army against the Hernicians, and, not finding the enemy in the field, took Ferentinum, one of their cities, by storm; when, on their return from thence, the Tiburtians shut their gates against them. This behavior finally determined the Romans, many

complaints having been made on both sides, before this, to declare war against the people of Tibur, after demanding satisfaction by heralds. We learn from very good authority that Titus Quintius Pennus was dictator this year, and Servius Cornelius Maluginensis master of the horse. Macer Licinius writes that he was nominated by the consul Licinius, for the purpose of holding the elections; because, observing that his colleague hastened the elections, in order to have them over before the commencement of the campaign, with design to procure his own re-election to the consulship, he judged it necessary to thwart his ambitious designs. This account, being calculated to enhance the honor of his own family, renders the authority of Licinius of the less weight: as I find no mention of that circumstance in the earlier annals, I am inclined to think that the dictator was appointed rather on account of the Gallic war. There is no doubt that in that year the Gauls were encamped at the third stone on the Salarian road, at the farther side of the bridge of the Anio. The dictator having, in consequence of the alarm of a Gallic tumult, proclaimed a cessation of civil business, obliged all the younger citizens to take the military oath; and, marching out of the city with a very powerful army, encamped on the hither bank of the Anio. The bridge lay between the armies, neither party choosing to break it down, lest it should be construed as an indication of fear. Frequent skirmishes were fought for the possession of the bridge, but so indecisive, that it could not be clearly discovered to which party it belonged. While affairs were in this posture a Gaul, of a stature remarkably large, advanced on the bridge, then unoccupied; and, with a loud voice, called out, 'Let the bravest man that Rome can produce come forth here to battle, that the event of a combat between us two may determine which of the nations is to be held superior in war.'

10. The young Roman nobility were for a long time silent, ashamed to refuse the challenge, yet unwilling to claim the first post of danger. Then Titus Manlius,

son of Lucius, the same who had freed his father from the persecution of the tribune, advancing from his station to the dictator, said, 'General, I would on no account leave my post to fight without your orders, not though I should see a certain prospect of victory: but if you permit me, I wish to show that brute, who makes such an insolent parade in the front of the enemy's army, that I am sprung from that family which beat down an army of Gauls from the Tarpeian rock.' The dictator answered, 'Titus Manlius, I honor your bravery, and your dutiful regard to your father, and to your country; go, and with the help of the gods, show the Roman name invincible.' The youth was then armed by his companions, took a footman's shield, and girded on a Spanish sword, adapted to close fight. As soon as they had fitted on his armor and ornaments they conducted him out towards the Gaul, who showed a savage joy, and (the ancients have thought that circumstance also worth mention) even thrust out his tongue in derision. They then retired to their posts, and the two champions were left in the middle space, in the manner of a spectacle, rather than according to the rules of combat, very unequally matched, in the eyes of such as judged by sight and appearance. The one had a body of enormous size, glittering in a vest of various colors, having armor painted and inlaid with gold: the other was of the middle stature among soldiers, and his mien devoid of ostentation, in arms calculated for ready use more than for show. On his side there was no song of defiance, no capering, nor vain flourishing of arms, but his breast, replete with resolution and silent rage, reserved all its fierceness for the decision of the contest. They took their ground between the two armies, while the minds of such great numbers of men on both sides were suspended between hope and fear. The Gaul, like some huge mass ready to crush the other under it, stretching forward his shield with his left hand, discharged an ineffectual blow on the edge of his sword, with great noise, on the armor of Manlius, as he ap-

proached ; while the Roman, pushing aside the lower part of his antagonist's shield with his own, and, insinuating himself between that and his body, closed in with him in such a manner as to be in no danger of a wound. He then raised the point of his sword, and with one, and then a second thrust, piercing the belly and groin of his foe, laid him prostrate on the ground, of which he covered a vast extent. The body, without offering it any other indignity, he despoiled of a chain only, which, bloody as it was, he threw round his own neck. Astonishment and dismay held the Gauls motionless. The Romans, in rapture, advanced from their posts to meet their champion, and with congratulations and praises conducted him to the dictator. Among the unpolished jests which they threw out, according to the soldier's custom, composed in a manner somewhat resembling verses, the appellation *Torquatus* was heard joined with his name ; which, being generally adopted, has since done honor to the descendants of that whole line. The dictator also presented him with a golden crown, and, in a public speech, extolled the action in the highest terms.

11. In fact, that combat was of so great consequence with respect to the general issue of the campaign, that on the night following the army of the Gauls, abandoning their camp in hurry and confusion, removed into the territory of Tibur ; and from thence, soon after, into Campania, having first concluded an alliance with the Tiburtians, for the purpose of carrying on the war, and received from them liberal supplies of provisions. This was the reason that in the next year [A. U. C. 395. B. C. 357] Caius Petilius Balbus, consul, notwithstanding that the province of the Hernicians had fallen to the lot of his colleague Marcus Fabius Ambustus, led an army, by order of the people, against the Tiburtians, to whose assistance the Gauls came back from Campania, and dreadful ravages were committed in the territories of Lavici, Tusculum, and Alba, in which the Tiburtians openly took the lead. Though the state had been content with a consul at

the head of the army, against such an enemy as the Tiburtians, the alarm of a Gallic war made it requisite that a dictator should be created. Quintus Servilius Ahala being accordingly appointed, he nominated Titus Quintius master of the horse; and, by direction of the senate, vowed to celebrate the great games, if in that war he should be crowned with success. The dictator then, ordering the consular army to remain where it was, in order to keep the Tiburtians at home, by obliging them to employ their arms in their own defence, enlisted all the younger citizens, none declining the service. A battle was fought with the enemy at no great distance from the Colline gate, in which the intire strength of the city was employed, in the sight of their parents, wives, and children. Such incitements to courage as the preservation of their dearest relatives, which operate powerfully even when those relatives are absent, being now placed before their eyes, roused every sentiment of honor, and every feeling of affection. After great slaughter on both sides, the army of the Gauls was at length defeated. They directed their flight towards Tibur, which the Gauls considered as the grand stay of the war; but being met in disorder not far from that city by the consul Petilius, and the Tiburtians marching out to their aid, they were all driven within the gates. Thus both the dictator and the consul conducted their operations most successfully. Fabius likewise, the other consul, at first, in slight skirmishes, and at last, in one remarkable engagement, wherein the Hernicians attacked him with their whole force, intirely defeated them. The dictator, after passing magnificent encomiums on the consuls, and declining in their favor the honors due to his own exploits, abdicated the dictatorship. Petilius enjoyed a double triumph over the Gauls and the Tiburtians. Fabius was contented with entering the city in ovation. The Tiburtians treated the triumph of Petilius with derision; for 'where,' they asked, 'had he tried their strength in the field? a few of their people, who had gone out at the gates,

as spectators of the flight and confusion of the Gauls, on finding themselves also attacked, and that every one who came in the way was slain without distinction, had retired into the city. Did the Romans deem this a matter worthy of a triumph? They had thought it a great and marvellous exploit to raise a tumult at an enemy's gates, but they should soon experience greater trepidation round their own walls.'

12. Accordingly in the year following, [A.U.C. 396. B. C. 356] when Marcus Popilius Lænas and Cneius Manlius were consuls, setting out from Tibur in the dead of the night, with forces prepared for action, they came to the city of Rome, where the people, being roused hastily from sleep, were filled with consternation, by the suddenness of the affair, and the alarm happening in the night, great numbers also being ignorant who were the enemy or whence they came. However, they quickly ran to arms, posted guards at the gates, and manned the walls; and when daybreak showed no other enemy before the city but the Tiburtians, and those not very considerable, the consuls marching out by two different gates, attacked their army on both flanks as they were just advancing to the walls. It then appeared that they had come with greater reliance on the opportunity for a surprise than on their own valor; for they scarcely withstood the first onset of the Romans. Their coming proved, in the event, even fortunate to the Romans, a dissension which was on the point of breaking out between the patricians and plebeians being suppressed by their apprehensions from a war so near at home. Another irruption into their territory, and by another enemy, succeeded this; more terrible, however, to the country, than to the city. The Tarquinians overran the Roman frontiers, committing depredations principally on the side contiguous to Etruria; and, after restitution had been demanded in vain, the new consuls, Caius Fabius and Caius Plautius, by order of the people, declared war against them: that province fell to Fabius, the Hernicians to Plautius. [A. U. C. 397. B. C. 355.]

A rumor of a Gallic war also prevailed. But amid these causes of apprehension, they derived some consolation in a peace with the Latines, granted at their own request, and also from a large supply of soldiers sent by that nation in compliance with an ancient treaty, the terms of which had been disregarded for many years past. This addition of strength was such an effectual support to the cause of the Romans, that they heard with the less concern, soon after, that the Gauls had come to Præneste, and afterwards, that they were encamped near Pedum. It was determined that Caius Sulpicius should be created dictator; he was accordingly nominated by the consul, Caius Plautius, who was called home for the purpose; and Marcus Valerius was appointed master of the horse. These led against the Gauls the ablest of the soldiers, chosen out of the two consular armies. This war proved much more tedious than was suitable to the views of either party. At first, the Gauls only were in haste to come to an engagement; but, in a little time, the Roman soldiery far surpassed them in their eagerness for the fight. The dictator thought it highly improper, when no urgent occasion required it, to hazard a battle against an enemy, whose strength time and an incommodious situation would daily impair, while they lay there inactive, without either a magazine of provisions, or a fortification of any strength; and who were, besides, of such a constitution, both of body and mind, that their whole force consisted in brisk exertions, but flagged on a short delay. On these considerations, the dictator protracted the war, and denounced a severe punishment if any should engage without orders. With this the soldiers were highly displeased, censuring, in their private conversations, sometimes the dictator, and sometimes the senate in general, for not having ordered the war to be conducted by the consuls. 'An excellent general,' they said, 'had been chosen, an extraordinary commander, who expected that, without any effort, victory would fly down from heaven into his lap.' Afterwards, they began openly in the day to

utter the same expressions, and others still more outrageous, saying that, 'without regarding the general's orders, they would either fight the enemy, or go in a body to Rome.' The centurions, too, mixed themselves with the soldiers; nor did they confine their murmurs to their own circles, but at length, in the head-quarters, and about the general's tent, uttered their sentiments in one general confused clamor: until, the crowd increasing to the size of a general assembly, it was at last shouted from every side that they should go that instant to the dictator, and that Sextus Tullius should speak in behalf of the army, in such manner as became his courage.

13. Tullius was now the seventh time in the post of first centurion of a legion; nor was there a man in the army, at least among the infantry, more eminently distinguished by his behavior. At the head of the body of the soldiery he proceeded to the tribunal, and whilst Sulpicius wondered not more at the crowd than at Tullius, a soldier most remarkable for obedience to command, being the leader of that crowd, he addressed him thus: 'Dictator, permit me to inform you that the whole army, thinking themselves condemned in your judgment as cowards, and kept without arms, almost as if they had been sentenced to ignominy, have intreated me to plead their cause before you. In truth, could it even be objected to us that, on any occasion, we had deserted our post, turned our backs to an enemy, or shamefully lost our standards, I think we might, notwithstanding, reasonably expect to obtain so much favor from you, as that you would allow us by our bravery to atone for our fault; and by a new acquisition of glory, to blot out the memory of our disgrace: Even the legions, defeated at the Allia, marching out afterwards from Veii, recovered by their valor the country which they had lost through cowardice. We, by the blessing of the gods, your good fortune, and that of the Roman people, have both our cause and our glory unimpaired; although I scarcely dare to mention glory, whilst the enemy scoff at us with every

kind of insult, as hiding ourselves, like women, behind a rampart. And what grieves us still more is, that you, our general, should entertain so mean an opinion of your army, as to suppose us without spirit, without arms, without hands; and that, before you have made any trial of our strength, you should despair of us, as if you considered yourself the commander of a set of maimed and disabled men: for what else can we believe to be the reason that you, a general of long experience, remarkable for spirit in war, sit, as the saying is, with folded hands? But however this may be, it is fitter that you should doubt our courage than we yours. If, however, this plan be not your own; if it be enjoined by public authority; and if some scheme concerted among the patricians, and not the Gallic war, detains us in banishment from the city and from our homes, I beseech you, that what I say on this head, you will not consider as spoken by soldiers to their general, but to the patricians by the commons, who declare, that as you have your separate plans, so will they have theirs. In such case, who can blame us if we look on ourselves as your soldiers, not as your slaves; as men sent to war, not into exile; as men who, if any one were to give the signal and lead them to the field, would fight as becomes Romans; but who, if there were no occasion for their arms, would rather pass a time of peace at Rome, than in a camp? Let this be deemed as addressed to the patricians. Of you, general, we, your soldiers, intreat that you will give us an opportunity of fighting. We wish to conquer, and under your command; to present you with distinguished laurels; to enter the city with you in triumph, and following your chariot with congratulations and rejoicings, to approach the temple of Jupiter supremely good and great.' The speech of Tullius was followed by the intreaties of the multitude, who, from every side, loudly requested that he would give the signal, that he would order them to take arms.

14. This proceeding, however laudable in its principle, was yet conducted in a manner which the dictator

could by no means approve. He yet undertook to comply with the wishes of the soldiers; and inquired of Tullius in private what sort of transaction this was, and on what precedent they had acted? Tullius earnestly besought Sulpicius to believe that he had not forgotten either his duty as a soldier, or the high respect due to his general; assuring him that 'his reason for not declining to put himself at the head of the incensed soldiery, who were all actuated by the same spirit, was, lest some other might stand forth, and such as a multitude in commotion generally appoint. That, as to himself, most certainly, he would do nothing without the direction of the general; on whom, nevertheless, it was highly incumbent to use every precaution on his part, for retaining the army in obedience to command. That minds so exasperated would not brook delay, and that they would themselves choose a time and place for fighting, if not granted to them by the general.' While they were talking in this manner, it happened that as a Gaul was attempting to drive off some cattle that were feeding on the outside of the rampart, two Roman soldiers took them from him. Stones were thrown by the Gauls, then a shout was raised at the next Roman post, and several ran out from both sides. The affair was now likely to end in a general battle, had not the contest been quickly stopped by the centurions. This accident, however, served to confirm the testimony of Tullius in the judgment of the dictator: and the matter admitting no farther delay, notice was given that they were to fight on the day following. The dictator, however, as he was going out to the field, confiding in the courage more than in the numbers of his men, began to look about and study how he might, by some artifice, strike terror into the enemy. His sagacious mind struck out a new device, which many commanders, both of our own and foreign nations, have since practised, some even in our times. He ordered the panniers to be taken off from the mules, two side-cloths only being left on each, and on these he mounted the muleteers dressed up in arms. of which

some had been taken from the enemy, the rest belonged to the sick. Having thus equipped about one thousand of these, he mixed with them a hundred horsemen, and ordered them to go up during the night into the mountains above the camp, to conceal themselves in the woods, and not to stir from thence until they should receive a signal from him. As soon as day appeared he began to extend his line along the bottom of the mountain, with the purpose of making the enemy draw up with their faces towards the ascent: he thus completed his preparatory measures for infusing terror, which terror, groundless as it was, proved rather more serviceable to him than his real strength. The leaders of the Gauls at first believed that the Romans would not come down to the plain: afterwards, when they saw them begin on a sudden to descend, they also, on their part, eager for the contest, rushed on to battle, and the fight began before the signal had been given by the generals.

15. The Gauls made their fiercest attack on the right wing, which would not have been able to withstand them, had not the dictator happened to be on the spot, who reproached Sextus Tullius by name, and asked him, ‘Was that the manner in which he had engaged that the soldiers should fight? Where were those shouts with which they had demanded arms? Where their threats that they would engage without the general’s orders? Behold their general now, calling them with a loud voice to battle, and advancing in arms before the front of the line. Would any of those follow him, who just now were to have led the way, fierce in the camp, but dastardly in the field?’ These reproaches were just; the men were therefore so deeply stung with shame that, totally regardless of danger, they rushed against the weapons of their adversaries. This onset, made with a degree of madness, first disordered the enemy; and the cavalry charging them while in disorder, forced them to give way. Sulpicius, when he saw their line wavering on that side, went round with some troops to the left wing, where he ob-

served them collected in a close body, and gave the signal agreed on to those who were stationed on the mountains; whereon a new shout was raised on that quarter also, and they were seen coming down the mountain in an oblique direction towards the camp of the Gauls; these, then, dreading lest they should be cut off from their camp, ceased fighting, and ran towards it with precipitation; but being met in the way by Marcus Valerius, the master of the horse, who, after having routed their left wing, was pushing forward to the intrenchment; they turned their flight towards the mountains and woods. Here the greater part of them were intercepted by the muleteers, who personated horsemen; and of those whose fears had carried them into the woods a terrible slaughter was made after the battle was ended. Nor did any one, since Camillus, obtain a more complete triumph over the Gauls than Caius Sulpicius. From the spoils he consecrated a very large quantity of gold in the capitol, inclosing it within a wall of hewn stone. The same year the consuls also engaged with the enemy, but with different success; for the Hernicians were intirely defeated and subdued by Caius Plautius: whereas Fabius, his colleague, came to an engagement with the Tarquinians without caution or prudence. Nor was the loss sustained in the field on the occasion so much to be regretted, as that the Tarquinians put to death three hundred and seven Roman soldiers, their prisoners; by which barbarity the disgrace of the Roman people was rendered the more conspicuous. To this disaster were added devastations of the Roman territories, made in sudden incursions, by the Privernians, and afterwards by the people of Velitræ. This year two tribes, the Pomptine and Publilian, were added to the others. The votive games vowed by Marcus Furius Camillus, in his dictatorship, were performed. And a law was now first proposed to the people by Caius Petilius, plebeian tribune, in pursuance of the directions of the senate, concerning the corrupting of voters at elections, by the passing of which they

thought a sufficient restraint was laid on the vicious practices of new men particularly, who had been accustomed to frequent the markets and other places of meeting for that purpose.

16. Nor equally pleasing to the patricians was a law carried in the year following, [A. U. C. 398. B. C. 354] when Caius Marcius and Cneius Manlius were consuls, by Marcus Duillius, and Lucius Mænius, plebeian tribunes, fixing the interest of money at the rate of twelve for each hundred by the year, and which the commons admitted, and passed with much the greater eagerness. In addition to the wars determined on in the foregoing year, a new one arose with the Faliscians; against whom two charges were made: first, that their youth had fought in conjunction with the Tarquinians; the second, that they had refused, on the demand of the Roman heralds, to restore these soldiers, who, after the defeat, had escaped to Falerii. That province fell to Cneius Manlius. Marcius led an army into the territory of Privernum, which was in a flourishing state and abounding in plenty through a long continuance of peace; and there he enriched his soldiers with abundance of spoil. To the great quantity of effects he added an act of munificence; for, by sequestering no part for the use of the public, he favored the soldier in the acquisition of private property. The Privernians having taken post in a strongly fortified camp under their walls, he called the soldiers to an assembly, and said to them, 'I now bestow on you the spoil of the camp and city of the enemy, provided you promise me that you will exert yourselves with bravery in the field, and show that you are not better disposed to plunder than to fight.' They called for the signal with loud shouts; and full of spirits and with the utmost confidence advanced to battle. There Sextus Tullius, whom we mentioned above, called out in the front of the line, 'General, behold how your troops perform their promises to you.' Then, laying aside his javelin, he rushed forward with his drawn sword. The whole van followed Tullius, and, by their first

onset, overthrew the enemy, thence pursuing them as they fled to the town; and, when they were just raising the scaling ladders to the walls the city surrendered. A triumph was performed over the Privernians. By the other consul nothing memorable was done, only that holding an assembly of the tribes in the camp at Sutrium, a proceeding unprecedented, he procured a law to be passed concerning the twentieth of the value of persons set free by manumission. As this law produced no small increase of revenue to the treasury, which was very low, the senate gave it their approbation. However, the plebeian tribunes, not so much displeased with the rule as with the precedent, had a law enacted by which it was made a capital offence for any person in future to hold an assembly of the people at a distance from the city: for they said, 'if that were allowed, there was nothing, how prejudicial soever to the community, which might not be passed into a law by soldiers sworn to obey their consuls.' This year Caius Licinius Stolo being prosecuted on his own law by Marcus Popillius Lænas, was fined ten thousand asses¹ for holding in partnership with his son a thousand acres of land, and for attempting by emancipating his son² to elude the law.

17. The new consuls who succeeded, [A. U. C. 399. B. C. 353] Marcus Fabius Ambustus and Marcus Popillius Lænas, both a second time, had two wars on their hands, one with the Tiburtians of no great difficulty, in which Lænas commanded, who, after forcing the enemy to take shelter in their town, laid waste their country: the other consul was routed in the be-

¹ 32l. 5s. 10d.

² The method of emancipating a son was this: the father made a fictitious sale of his son to a person, who then manumitted, i. e. gave him his freedom in due form; and this process, being performed thrice, released the son from the jurisdiction of the father. It has been already mentioned that fathers had an intire property in, and jurisdiction, even to life and death, over their sons, who were in a condition little if at all better than that of slaves. One sale and manumission released a daughter, or a grandchild.

ginning of the fight by the Faliscians and Tarquinians. These contrived to excite the greatest terrors by means of their priests, who, carrying lighted torches and the figures of serpents, and advancing with the gestures of furies, utterly disconcerted the Roman soldiers by their extraordinary appearance; so that they ran back to their intrenchments, in all the hurry of dismay, like men seized with frenzy or thunder-struck. Afterwards when the consuls, lieutenant-generals, and tribunes, began to ridicule and upbraid them for being frightened like children at strange sights, which could do them no injury, shame wrought such a sudden change in their minds, that they rushed, as if blindfold, on those very objects from which they had fled. Having quickly dispersed those insignificant instruments of the enemy, and fallen in with those who were in arms, they drove their whole line from the field, and before the day was at an end, getting possession of their camp, where they found an immense booty, returned to their own with victory, uttering ludicrous reflections, in the military style, both on the stratagem of the enemy and their own fright. The whole Etrurian nation then rose up in arms, and, headed by the Tarquinians and Faliscians, advanced as far as Salinæ. To make head against such an alarming force, Caius Marcius Rutilius was nominated dictator, the first plebeian who held that office, and he chose for his master of the horse Caius Plutius, a plebeian likewise. It excited great indignation in the minds of the patricians that the dictatorship, along with the other offices, should now become common, and they labored with all their might to prevent any thing requisite to the war from being decreed or prepared for the dictator; for which reason the people ordered with the greatest readiness every thing which the dictator proposed. Marching his forces from the city on both sides of the Tiber, and transporting his troops on rafts, occasionally, as his intelligence of the enemy required, he surprised many of their straggling parties, scattered over the country in search of plunder: attacking their

camp also by surprise, he made himself master of it; and eight thousand of the enemy being made prisoners, and the rest slain or driven out of the Roman territory, he triumphed by order of the people, contrary to the approbation of the senate. The nobility, being unwilling that the election of consuls should be held either by a plebeian dictator or consul, and the other consul, Fabius, being detained abroad by the war, an interregnum took place. There were then interreges, in succession, Quintus Servilius Ahala, Marcus Fabius, Cneius Manlius, Caius Fabius, Caius Sulpicius, Lucius Æmilius, Quintus Servilius, and Marcus Fabius Ambustus. In the second interregnum a contention arose on account of two patricians being elected consuls; and on the tribunes protesting, the interrex Fabius said, that 'was set down in the twelve tables, that whatever the people ordered last, that should be law, and in force; and that the people's votes were their orders.' The tribunes not being able by their protest to obtain any other advantage, than that of putting off the election, two patricians were at length chosen consuls, [A. U. C. 400. B. C. 352] Caius Sulpicius Pæticus a third time, and Marcus Valerius Publicola, and on the same day entered into office.

18. In the four hundredth year from the building of the city of Rome, and the thirty-fifth since its recovery from the Gauls, the consulship was taken out of the hands of the commons at the end of eleven years; and consuls, who were both patricians, the interregnum ceasing, entered on their office, Caius Sulpicius Pæticus a third time, and Marcus Valerius Publicola. During this year Empulum was taken from the Tiburtians without much difficulty; but whether this was owing, as some writers assert, to the war being waged there under the auspices of both consuls; or whether it arose from the lands of the Tarquinians being wasted by the consul Sulpicius, at the same time that Valerius led his legions against the Tiburtians, is uncertain. The consuls however had a more difficult contest to maintain at home against the commons and tribunes.

As they were both patricians, they thought themselves bound, as well in regard to their honor as to their resolution, to deliver the consulships over to two patricians likewise; for that if the consulship were now made a plebeian magistracy, they must yield it for ever. They therefore held it proper to retain intire a right which they had received intire from their fathers. The commons, on the other hand, made loud remonstrances: 'Why did they live? Why were they reckoned in the number of citizens, if they could not maintain by their united efforts, what had been procured by the firmness of two men, Lucius Sextius and Caius Licinius? It were better to endure kings or decemvirs, or, if such there were, any title of government still more obnoxious, than to have both their consuls of the patrician order, and not to be allowed to command and obey in turn. Shall one half of the citizens be placed in perpetual command, and think the commons born for no other purpose than to be their slaves?' The tribunes were not remiss in fomenting these disorders; but all were in such a ferment that hardly were any distinguished particularly as leaders. After they had several times gone down to the field of election to no purpose, and after many days of meeting had been wasted in debates, the commons, being at last overcome by the perseverance of the consuls, took this method of venting their resentment at the disappointment: the tribunes exclaimed that there was an end of liberty, and that now they ought to leave not only the field, but the city also, since it was held under captivity and oppression by the arbitrary power of the patricians; and then they were followed by the plebeians in a melancholy crowd. The consuls, though deserted by a part of the people, yet, nevertheless, with the small number who remained finished the election. [A. U. C. 401. B. C. 351.] Both the consuls appointed were patricians, Marcus Fabius Ambustus a third time, and Titus Quintius. In some annals I find, instead of Titus Quintius, Marcus Popillius consul.

19. Two wars were carried on this year with success. The Tiburtians were reduced by force of arms to submission; the city of Sassula was taken from them; and the rest of their towns would have shared the same fate had not the whole nation laid down their arms, and surrendered themselves to the consul. He triumphed over the Tiburtians. In other respects the victory was used with much moderation; but the Tarquinians were treated with rigorous severity. After a great slaughter had been made of them in the field, there were chosen out of the vast number of prisoners three hundred and fifty-eight of the most distinguished birth to be sent to Rome: the rest of the multitude were put to the sword: nor were the people more merciful to those who were sent to Rome; they were all beaten with rods, and beheaded in the middle of the forum. Such was the punishment retaliated on the enemy, in return for their murdering the Romans in the forum of Tarquinii. These successes in war induced the Samnites to solicit their friendship: their ambassadors received a courteous answer, and a treaty of alliance was concluded with them. The Roman commons did not experience the same prosperity at home as in war; for although the burden of interest-money had been lightened, by fixing the rate at one for the hundred, the poor were unequal to the discharge of the principal alone, and were put in confinement by their creditors. The thoughts of the commons, therefore, were so much engrossed by their private distresses, as to exclude all solicitude about both the consuls being patricians, or the business of elections, or any party concerns. [A. U. C. 402. B. C. 350.] The consulate therefore remained with the patricians, and Caius Sulpicius Pæticus a fourth time, and Marcus Valerius Publicola a second time, were elected. While the state was occupied with the Etrurian war, entered on in consequence of a report prevailing that the people of Cære, out of compassion to their relations, had joined the Tarquinians, ambassadors from the Latines diverted their attention to

the Volscians, bringing information that these had enlisted and armed a number of troops, with which they threatened to invade their borders, whence they would certainly carry forward their depredations into the Roman territories. The senate therefore determined not to neglect either affair; they ordered legions to be enlisted for both purposes, and the consuls to cast lots for their provinces. The greater share of their attention was afterwards directed to the Etrurian war, when it was discovered, from the letters of the consul Sulpicius, to whose lot Tarquinii had fallen as his province, that the country round the Roman Salinæ had been laid waste; that part of the plunder had been conveyed into the country of the Cæritians; and that the young men of that nation were certainly among the plunderers. Wherefore, recalling the consul Valerius, who had been sent to oppose the Volscians, and was then encamped on the frontiers of Tusculum, the senate ordered him to nominate a dictator. He nominated Titus Manlius, son of Lucius, who, having appointed Aulus Cornelius Cossus his master of the horse, and thinking the consular army sufficient, with the approbation of the senate, and by order of the people, declared war against the Cæritians.

20. These were then first seized with real dread of a war, not considering that the Romans were provoked to it by the ravages committed on their territory. They perceived how unequal their own strength was to such a contest, repented heartily of their depredations, and cursed the Tarquinians, the advisers of their revolt. Nor did any entertain a thought of arms and hostilities, but every one earnestly recommended that ambassadors should be sent to solicit pardon of their error. Their ambassadors having applied to the senate, and being by them referred to the people, implored the gods, whose sacred property they had taken into their care in the Gallic war, and treated with all due reverence, that the Romans, in their present flourishing state, might feel for them the same commiseration which they had formerly felt for the Roman peo-

ple in their distress; and, turning to the temple of Vesta, appealed to the bonds of hospitality subsisting between themselves and the priests and vestals, to the forming of which they had contributed on their part with pure and religious zeal: 'Could any one believe that people who had such merits to plead would, on a sudden, without reason, commence enemies? Or, if they had been guilty of some hostile act, that it was design, and not rather mistake occasioned by frenzy, that could induce them to act in such a manner as would cancel their ancient kindnesses by recent injuries; especially as those on whom they were conferred had shown so grateful a sense of them? Could it be supposed that they would choose to themselves as an enemy the Roman people, while flourishing in prosperity, and most successful in arms, with whom, when oppressed by calamities, they had formed a friendship? Let them not call that a studied matter which really arose from necessity. The Tarquinians, marching through their territory in hostile array, although they had asked for nothing but a passage, compelled some of their peasants to accompany them in that predatory expedition, the guilt of which was now charged on them. If it were the pleasure of the Romans that these should be delivered into their hands, they were ready to deliver them; or, if that they should be punished, they would inflict the punishment. They then intreated that Cære, the sanctuary of the public worship of the Roman people, the refuge of its priests, and the receptacle of Rome's sacred effects, might, out of regard to the rights of hospitality contracted with the vestals, and to the gods whose worship was there preserved, be left unhurt, and unstained with the imputation of having commenced hostilities.' The people were moved, not so much by the merits of the present case, as by their old deserts, to overlook the injury, rather than the kindness. Peace was therefore granted to the people of Cære, and a resolution passed that it should be referred to the senate to pass a decree, granting them a truce of a hundred years.

The force of the war was then meant to be turned against the Faliscians, who were guilty of the same crime; but the enemy were no where to be found. Depredations were made in all parts of their country, but it was not thought proper to besiege the towns; and, the legions being brought home to Rome, the remainder of the year was spent in repairing the walls and the towers: the temple of Apollo was also dedicated.

21. In the latter end of the year a dispute between the patricians and plebeians suspended the election of consuls; for the tribunes declared that they would not suffer it to be held, unless conformably to the Licinian law, and Manlius was obstinately determined rather to abolish the consulship intirely out of the state, than to lay it open to all promiscuously. The election therefore being frequently adjourned, and the dictator going out of office, the matter ended in an interregnum. The interreges found the commons highly incensed against the patricians, so that the contest between the parties was prolonged to the eleventh interrex. The pretext of the tribunes was, the support of the Licinian law. The commons had a cause of uneasiness in a matter which touched them more nearly, the increasing weight of interest-money; and the ill temper, contracted from their private grievances, broke out in the public disputes, of which the patricians became so wearied, that for concord's sake they ordered the interrex Lucius Cornelius Scipio to conform to the Licinian law in the election of consuls. [A. U. C. 403; B. C. 349.] To Publius Valerius Publicola a plebeian colleague was assigned, Caius Marcius Rutilus. When a disposition to harmony once began to prevail, the new consuls directed their endeavors to the procuring relief in the affair of interest-money also, which seemed the only obstacle in the way of universal quiet; accordingly they made the payment of the debts a public concern, appointing five commissioners for the management thereof, whom, from their dealing out the money, they called bankers.

These, by their equity and diligence, rendered themselves deserving of having their names recorded with honor in every history of the times. They were Caius Duillius, Publius Decius Mus, Marcus Papirius, Quintus Publilius, and Titus Æmilius, who went through a business of a most difficult nature (at first dissatisfactory, in general, to both parties, always certainly to one), with moderation, and, moreover, at the expense of the public rather than that of the creditors: for the more tardy debts, and such as were rendered troublesome, rather by unwillingness than want of ability in the debtors to satisfy them, were either discharged by the treasury, on security being first given to the public (tables being placed in the forum with money for the purpose); or were settled by composition, after an equitable valuation of the effects of the debtor. So that not only without injury, but finally without complaint from any party was an immense amount of debts cleared off. After this a false alarm of an Etrurian war, grounded on a rumor that the twelve states had conspired to that purpose, occasioned the nomination of a dictator. Caius Julius was appointed in the camp, for the decree of senate was sent thither to the consuls, and Lucius Æmilius was joined as master of the horse. However every thing abroad remained in quiet.

22. At home, an attempt made by Julius to procure the election of two patricians to the consulship brought the government to an interregnum. The two intermediate interreges, Caius Sulpicius and Marcus Fabius, effected what the dictator had endeavored in vain, the election of consuls out of the patricians, the temper of the commons being now appeased by the late kindness shown them in the lightening of their debts. Caius Sulpicius Peticus himself, who was the first interrex, and now out of office, was chosen with Titus Quintus Pennus. [A. U. C. 404. B. C. 348.] Some give the surname of Cælo, others that of Caius, to Quintus. They both marched against the enemy: Quintus against the Faliscians, Sulpicius against the

Tarquinians; and, not meeting either enemy in the field, turned the rage of war on the lands, plundering and burning every thing throughout the country: by which kind of operations, as by a slow consumption, both those states were so enfeebled that they were obliged to abate their obstinacy, and send to request a truce; first, from the consuls, and afterwards, with their permission, from the senate: they obtained one for forty years. The public being thus freed from all concern about the two nations which threatened their quiet, it was resolved that, while they enjoyed some repose from war, a general survey should be made, on account of the many alterations in property caused by the payment of the debts. But when the assembly was proclaimed for the appointing of censors, Caius Marcius Rutilus, who had been the first plebeian dictator, declaring himself a candidate for the censorship, disturbed the harmony of the public; and this step he seemed to have taken at an unfavorable juncture, because it happened that both the consuls were then patricians, who declared that they would not allow his pretensions. However, he effected his purpose, partly through his own resolute perseverance, and partly through the aid of the tribunes; for they supported him, with their utmost power, in the recovery of a right which they had lost in the election of consuls. Besides, as the worth of the man himself set him on a level with any of the highest honors, so the commons were also desirous that their title to a share in the censorship should be established through the same person who had opened their way to the dictatorship. At the election no dissent was shown to the appointment of Marcius along with Cneius Manlius. There was likewise a dictator appointed this year, Marcus Fabius; not in consequence of any alarm of war, but to prevent the observance of the Licinian law in the choice of consuls. The dictatorship however gave no greater efficacy to this scheme of the patricians as to the election of consuls, than it had in that of censors.

23. Marcus Popillius Lænas was chosen consul on

the part of the commons, Lucius Cornelius Scipio on that of the patricians. [A. U. C. 405. B. C. 347.] Fortune even threw the greater share of lustre on the plebeian consul: for, on the receipt of intelligence that a vast army of Gauls had pitched their camp in the Latine territory, Scipio then laboring under a heavy fit of sickness, the Gallic war was given out of course to Popillius.—He levied forces with great diligence, ordered the younger citizens to assemble in arms at the temple of Mars, outside the Capuan gate, and the questors to carry out the standards from the treasury to the same place; and having completed four legions, gave the surplus of the men to the pretor Publius Valerius Publicola; recommending it to the senate to raise another army as a reserve against the uncertain contingences of war. Then, having completed every necessary preparation and arrangement, he proceeded towards the enemy. In order to acquire a knowledge of their strength before he should hazard a decisive action, he began to form an intrenchment on a hill, the nearest possible to the camp of the Gauls. These being of a race naturally fierce and eager for fighting, as soon as they saw the Roman standards at a distance, drew out their forces in order for battle, as if they were immediately to engage; but when the opposite army did not descend to the plain, (the Romans being secure both from the height of the ground and by intrenchments,) imagining that they were dispirited with fear, and also that they might be attacked with greater advantage, being particularly busy on their fortifications, they advanced with a furious shout. On the side of the Romans the works suffered no interruption, the veterans being the persons employed therein; but the battle was supported by the younger soldiers and spearmen, who had been formed in front of the others, armed and ready for the fight. Besides their own superior valor, the Romans had the advantage of the higher ground, so that the spears and javelins did not all fall without effect, as is generally the case when thrown on the same level, but flying with

the greater force and steadiness, by means of their own weight, almost every one of them took effect; so that the Gauls were weighed down with the weapons with which they either had their bodies transfixcd, or their shields rendered too heavy for them to support, from the number sticking in them. Though they had advanced against the steep almost in full speed at first, yet they became irresolute, and halted. This delay abated their courage, while it augmented that of the opposite party; they were then pushed backwards headlong from the height, the carnage ensuing in consequence being more horrid than even that made by the enemy; for greater numbers were bruised to death, by falling one on the other with their ponderous shields, than were slain by the sword.

24. But the victory was not yet decided in favor of the Romans. On coming down to the plain they found another formidable opposition still to be overcome; for the numbers of the Gauls being so great as to prevent them from feeling their loss, they led on fresh troops against the victorious enemy, as if a new army had sprung up from the ruins of the other. The Romans therefore desisted from the pursuit; being that after all their fatigue, another laborious contest remained for them to maintain; besides that the consul, having his left shoulder pierced almost through with a javelin while he exposed himself incautiously in the van, had retired for a short time from the line. They were now letting victory slip out of their hands by delay, when the consul, having got his wound dressed, rode back to the front of the line, and called out, 'Soldiers, why do you thus stand? You have not to do with a Latine or Sabine enemy, whom, when you have conquered him by your arms, you can, perhaps, make an ally: they are brutes against whom we have drawn the sword; we must destroy them, or they will destroy us. You have repulsed them from your camp; you have driven them headlong down the declivity; you stand on the prostrated bodies of your enemy; cover then the plains with the same carnage

with which you have covered the mountains ; wait not until they fly from you ; advance your standards, and charge your enemy. Roused again to action by these exhortations, they drove back the foremost companies of the Gauls, and then, forming in wedges, broke through the centre of their line. The barbarians, being thus disunited, and having no regular system of command or subordination of officers, in their confusion destroyed each other as before. After being dispersed over the plains, and carried by the precipitancy of their flight even beyond their own camp, they bent their way towards the citadel of Alba ; which, among the hills nearly equal in height, happened to strike their eyes as the highest eminence. The consul did not continue the pursuit farther than to their camp, being greatly weakened by his wounds, and at the same time unwilling to expose his troops, already fatigued, to new toil ; especially as the high grounds were now occupied by the enemy. Bestowing therefore on the soldiers the intire plunder of the camp, he led them back to Rome, exulting in victory, and enriched with the spoils of the Gauls. The consul's wounds occasioned a delay of his triumph, and the same cause made the senate wish for a dictator, for both the consuls being sick, a magistrate was wanted to hold the election. Lucius Furius Camillus being nominated accordingly, and Publius Cornelius Scipio appointed his master of horse, he restored to the patricians their original possession of the consulship : in return for which service, being himself elected consul through the zeal exerted by the patricians, he declared Appius Claudius Crassus his colleague.

26. Previous to the new consuls entering into office the triumph of Popillius over the Gauls was celebrated with the highest applause from the commons, who, in making their observations among themselves, frequently asked, did any one see reason to be sorry for having a plebeian consul ? At the same time they censured the dictator severely, who, they said, had received the consulship as a bribe for having infringed

the Licinian law, in a manner more dishonorable on account of his selfish ambition, than even of the injury offered to the public; as, while he was invested with the office of dictator, he made himself consul. [A.U.C. 406. B.C. 346.] This year was rendered remarkable by many and various commotions. The Gauls, unable to endure the severity of the winter, came down from the Alban mountains, and spread themselves over the plains and the parts near the sea, plundering wherever they came. The sea was infested by fleets of the Grecians, as were the coast of Antium, the Laurentian district, and the mouth of the Tiber: and it so fell out that these pirates even fought an obstinate battle with the plunderers on land; after which they separated, the Gauls to their camp, and the Grecians to their ships, doubtful, on both sides, whether they should consider themselves as victors or vanquished. At the same time the most alarming apprehensions were excited by assemblies of the Latine states being held at the grove of Ferentina; and by the answer, which they gave in plain terms, to the order of the Romans for a supply of soldiers; 'that they should cease to issue orders to people of whose assistance they stood in need; that the Latines would take arms rather in support of their own liberty, than of the dominion of others.' The senate being greatly disturbed at this defection of their allies, in addition to the two former wars, which they had already on their hands, and, perceiving the necessity of keeping them under restraint by fear, since the faith of treaties had proved ineffectual, ordered the consul to exert the whole power of his office to the utmost stretch in levying troops; observing, that they must now rely for support on an army of their own countrymen, since their allies had deserted them. We are told that, by collecting men from all quarters, (not only the youth of the city, but of the country likewise,) there were ten legions completed, consisting each of four thousand two hundred foot, and three hundred horse; such a body of new raised troops as, in case of danger from a foreign power, the whole world, though directed to

one point, could not easily furnish. So true it is that our improvements have been confined to those particulars, on which alone we bestow our labor and our wealth. Among the melancholy events of this year, one of the consuls, Appius Claudius, died in the midst of the preparations for war, and the whole administration of affairs fell on Camillus; over whom, though standing single in the consulship, the senate did not think it decent that a dictator should be appointed, as well in consideration of the high respectability of his character, which ought to exempt him from being placed in a state of subordination, as of the auspicious omen afforded by his surname with regard to a Gallic war. The consul then stationed two legions to guard the city, divided the other eight with the pretor, Lucius Pinarius, and, emulating his father's bravery, assumed to himself the Gallic war without the decision of lots; ordering the pretor to guard the sea coast, and prevent the landing of the Grecians. When he had marched down into the Pomptine territory, not choosing to come to an engagement on the level grounds, when no circumstance made it necessary, and judging that the enemy would be effectually subdued, by being prevented from the acquisition of plunder, as they had no other resource than what they obtained in that way, he chose out a situation convenient for a fixed encampment.

26. Here, while the men passed the time in quiet in their quarters, a Gaul of extraordinary size, splendidly armed, advanced towards them; and striking his shield with his spear, having caused silence, he challenged, by an interpreter, any one of the Romans to enter the lists with him in arms. There was a tribune of the soldiers called Marcus Valerius, a young man, who, thinking himself not less qualified for an honorable enterprise of the kind than Titus Manlius, after first inquiring whether it would be agreeable to the consul, advanced in armor into the middle space. The contest between these men was the less noticed, because of an interposition of the power of the gods; for just as the

Roman began the combat a crow pitched suddenly on his helmet, looking towards his antagonist, which, as an augury sent from heaven, the tribune at first received with joy, and then prayed that 'whatever god or goddess had sent him, the auspicious bird would be favorable and propitious to him.' What is wonderful to be told, the bird not only kept the seat where it had once pitched, but as often as the rencounter was renewed, raising itself on its wings, attacked the face and eyes of his antagonist, the Gaul, with its beak and talons, who became so much terrified by the sight of such a prodigy, that he was slain by Valerius. The crow then flew on high towards the east until it was out of sight. Hitherto the advanced guards on both sides had remained quiet: but when the tribune began to strip the spoils from the body of his fallen enemy, the Gauls no longer confined themselves to their post, and the Romans ran with still greater speed to the conqueror, when a scuffle arising round the body of the prostrate Gaul, a desperate fight ensued. And now the contest was supported, not by the companies from the nearest posts, but by the legions pouring out from both sides. While the Roman soldiers exulted at the victory of the tribune, and likewise at such attention and favor shown them by the gods, Camillus ordered them to march on to battle, and pointing to the tribune decorated with the spoils, 'Soldiers, imitate him,' said he, 'and strew heaps of Gauls round their fallen champion.' Both gods and men contributed their aid to insure success in that engagement, and a complete and acknowledged victory was obtained over the Gauls, according to the forebodings entertained by both parties from the issue of the combat. The first party of Gauls maintained the battle with fury; but the remainder, before they came within a weapon's cast, turned their backs and fled. They were dispersed through the territories of the Volscians and of the Falerii; from thence they made towards Apulia and the upper sea. The consul calling an assembly, besides bestowing praises on the tribune, presented him with ten oxen and a golden crown; and

then being ordered by the senate to attend in person to the war on the coast, he joined his camp to that of the pretor. There, as the business did not promise a speedy conclusion, from the dastardly conduct of the Grecians, who would not venture into the field, he, by direction of the senate, nominated Titus Manlius Torquatus dictator, for the purpose of the elections. The dictator accordingly, after appointing Aulus Cornelius Cossus master of the horse, held the elections; and with the warmest applause of the people, declared consul, though absent, his rival in his own line of glory, Marcus Valerius Corvus, for that surname was given him from thenceforth; he was then only twenty-three years old. [A. U. C. 407. B. C. 345.] The colleague joined with Corvus was a plebeian, Marcus Popillius Lænas, who was now to enjoy that office a fourth time. Between the Grecians and Camillus nothing memorable occurred. The former were not warriors by land, nor the latter by sea. At length the Greeks, not being suffered to leave their ships, and, besides other necessities, their water also failing, withdrew from Italy. To what nation or what state that fleet belonged there is no certain account. I am most inclined to believe that it was sent by the tyrants of Sicily; for the farther Greece, at that time, besides being weakened by intestine wars, stood much in dread of the power of the Macedonians.

27. After the armies were disbanded peace prevailed abroad, and concord subsisted between the orders at home; but, lest their happiness should be too great, a pestilence attacked the state, which obliged the senate to order the decemvirs to inspect the Sibylline books; and, by their direction, a lectisternium was performed. This year a colony was led by the Antians to Satrium, and the city, which the Latines had demolished, rebuilt. There was also a treaty concluded at Rome with ambassadors of the Carthaginians, who had come to solicit friendship and alliance. The same tranquillity continued at home and abroad during the consulate of Titus Manlius Torquatus and Caius Plautius. [A. U. C. 408. B. C. 344.] The only business which occurred out

of course was, that the interest of money, instead of twelve, was reduced to six for the hundred; and the payment of the debts adjusted in such a manner, that one-fourth part being paid at the present, the other three parts should be discharged in three years, by so many equal payments. Notwithstanding which, numbers of the commons were still distressed; but the senate paid more regard to public credit than to the difficulties of particular persons. The greatest relief to their circumstances was the cessation of the taxes and levies. In the third year [A.U.C. 409. B.C. 343] after the rebuilding of Satricum by the Volscians, Marcus Valerius Corvus, being a second time consul, with Caius Petilius, on intelligence received from Latium that ambassadors from Antium were going round the states of the Latines, to excite them to war, he was ordered to march an army against the Volscians, before the enemies should be joined by others; and he proceeded to Satricum with his troops ready for action. To this place the Antians and other Volscians had advanced to meet him, with forces which they had some time before got in readiness, to oppose any enterprise which might be undertaken on the side of Rome; and both parties being inflamed with an inveterate hatred, an engagement commenced without delay. The Volscians, a nation who enter into war with more ardor than they support it, being vanquished in the fight, fled precipitately to the walls of Satricum; but not relying, with any great confidence, even on the protection of those walls, and the city being encompassed by a continued line of troops, who were on the point of taking it by scalade, they surrendered themselves prisoners, to the number of four thousand, besides the unarmed multitude. The town was burned, the temple of Mother Matuta only being exempted from the flames. The intire spoil was given to the soldiers. The four thousand who surrendered were not considered as part of the spoil; these, the consul in his triumph, drove before his chariot in chains; and from the sale of them afterwards brought a large sum of money into the treasury. Some,

writers allege that this body of prisoners consisted of slaves; and it is more probable that they were so, than that men, who had capitulated, should be set up to sale.

28. These consuls were succeeded by Marcus Fabius Dorso, and Servius Sulpicius Camerinus. [A. U. C. 410. B. C. 342.] The Auruncians soon after commenced hostilities by a sudden predatory irruption; and apprehensions being entertained that this act of one state was part of a scheme formed by the whole Latine nation, Lucius Furius was created dictator, as if all Latium were already in arms. He nominated Cneius Manlius Capitolinus master of the horse: and a cessation of civil business being proclaimed, as usual on alarms of a dangerous nature, and levies being made, without allowing any exemption, the legions were led with all possible expedition against the Auruncians, who were found to possess the spirit of freebooters rather than of soldiers; so that they were utterly vanquished in the first engagement. However, the dictator, considering that they had brought on hostilities by their incursions, and that they had no apparent desire to decline the fight, wished to engage the aid of the gods in his favor; and in the heat of the battle vowed a temple to Juno Moneta; and then returning to Rome, under the obligation of this vow, in consequence of his success, he abdicated the dictatorship. The senate ordered two commissioners to be appointed to erect the temple, with a magnificence becoming the Roman people: the site chosen for it was that spot in the citadel whereon had stood the house of Marcus Manlius Capitolinus. The consuls, making use of the dictator's troops for carrying on the Volscian war, took Sora from the enemy by surprise. [A. U. C. 411. B. C. 341.] The temple of Moneta was dedicated in the next year after it had been vowed, Caius Marcius Rutilus a third time, and Titus Manlius Torquatus a second time, being consuls. The dedication was immediately followed by a prodigy, similar to the ancient one of the Alban lake; for a shower of

stones fell, and, during the day, night seemed to cover the sky: the state being filled with pious fears and the books being inspected, the senate came to a resolution that a dictator should be nominated for the purpose of directing the religious rites. Publius Valerius Publicola was accordingly nominated, and Quintus Fabius Ambustus appointed his master of the horse. It was thought proper that not the tribes only should offer supplications, but even the neighboring nations; and a regular course was fixed for them, and on what day each should perform that duty. Some severe sentences are recorded, which were passed this year by the people against usurers, on charges brought by the ediles. An interregnum took place in the same year, for which no particular reason has been given. At the conclusion of the interregnum [A. U. C. 412. B. C. 340] both consuls were elected out of the patricians, Marcus Valerius Corvus a third time, and Aulus Cornelius Cossus; and this seems to have been the purpose intended by it.

29. Henceforward will be related wars of greater importance, whether we consider the strength of the powers, the length of their continuance, or the distance of the countries in which they were carried on; for in this year arms were first taken up against the Samnites, a nation powerful in wealth and arms. After the Samnitian war, in which a variety of fortune was experienced, Pyrrhus appeared as an enemy; after Pyrrhus, the Carthaginians. What a series of important events! How often have the extremities of danger been undergone before the structure of this empire could be raised to its present magnitude, which the world can scarcely endure! The cause of the war with the Samnites originated, with respect to the Romans, in the affairs of others; not immediately between themselves, who had, till then been united in alliance and friendship. The Samnites had, unjustly, merely because they were superior in strength, made war on the Sidicinians. The weak being obliged to seek assistance, united themselves to the Campanians;

under your dominion.' Having spoken thus, they all stretched forth their hands towards the consuls, and with floods of tears prostrated themselves in the porch of the senate-house. The senate were deeply affected at this instance of the vicissitude of human grandeur ; seeing that nation which possessed an exuberance of wealth, and was universally noted for luxury and pride, and to whom a short time since the neighboring states looked up for support, so utterly depressed in spirit, as voluntarily to resign themselves and all that belonged to them into the power of others. They therefore thought themselves bound in honor not to abandon those who were now become their subjects ; and that it would be unjustifiable behavior in the Samnites, if they persisted in carrying on hostilities against a city and country which, in consequence of the surrender, had become the property of the Roman people. It was in consequence resolved that ambassadors should be sent immediately to that nation. These were instructed to make known ' the request of the Campanians ; the answer of the senate, in which due regard was paid to the friendship of the Samnites ; and the surrender made in conclusion. To request that in consideration of the alliance and intercourse subsisting between the states, they would spare their subjects, and not carry arms into a country which now made a part of the Roman state : and, if gentle remonstrances did not produce the desired effect, that they should then denounce to the Samnites, as the will of the senate and people of Rome, that they should retire from the city of Capua and the Campanian territory.' When these things were represented to the ambassadors in the assembly of the Samnites, they not only answered fiercely that they would continue the war, but their magistrates going out of the senate-house while the ambassadors were standing on the spot, called the commanders of their cohorts, and, with a loud voice, gave them orders to march instantly into the Campanian territory and plunder it.

32. When the result of this embassy was reported at Rome, the senate, laying aside all other business, despatched heralds to demand satisfaction; which not being complied with, and war being in consequence declared in the customary manner, they decreed that the affair should without loss of time be submitted to the consideration of the people. This was done accordingly, and in pursuance of their order the consuls instantly began their march; Valerius to Campania, Cornelius to Sunium. The former pitched his camp near Mount Gaurus, the latter at Saticula. The legions of the Samnites met Valerius first; for they supposed that the whole weight of the war would be directed to that side. They were at the same time stimulated by rage against the Campanians for having shown themselves so ready, at one time to give, at another to call in aid against them. But no sooner did they see the Roman camp than with one voice they furiously demanded the signal from their leaders; maintaining, confidently, that the Romans should meet the same fate in supporting the Campanians which had attended the latter in supporting the Sidicinians. Valerius, after spending a few days in slight skirmishes, for the purpose of making trial of the enemy, displayed the signal for battle, exhorting his men, in few words, not to let the new war and the new enemy dispirit them. 'In proportion as they carried their arms to a greater distance from the city, they would, in every stage of their progress, meet nations more and more unwarlike. They ought not to estimate the value of the Samnites by the losses of the Sidicinians and Campanians. Let the combatants be of what kind soever, one side must necessarily be worsted. As to the Campanians, they were undoubtedly vanquished by debility, flowing from excessive luxury, and by their own pusillanimity, rather than by the strength of their enemy. And, after all, of what weight were two successful wars on the side of the Samnites during so many ages, in the balance against the glorious achievements of the Roman people, who reckoned nearly a greater

number of triumphs than of years from the foundation of their city, and who had extended the sway of their victorious arms over all around them; the Sabines, Etruria, the Latines, the Hernicians, the Æquans, the Volscians, the Auruncians? Who, after slaying myriads of Gauls in so many battles, forced them at last to fly to their ships? As every soldier ought to go courageously into the field, animated by the national renown in arms, so ought he, at the same time, to consider the commander under whose conduct and auspices he is to fight, whether he be one capable of attracting attention merely by his pompous exhortations, spirited in words alone, and unqualified for military labors: or one who well knows how to wield arms, to advance before the standards, and to encounter the thickest of the fight. Soldiers,' said he, 'I wish you to be led by my actions, not by my words; and to take, not only orders, but example, also from me. It was not by intrigues, nor by cabals, usual among the nobles, but by this right hand that I procured to myself three consulships and the highest praises of my countrymen. There was a time when it might be said of me,—You enjoyed these dignities because you were a patrician, and descended from the deliverers of your country; and because your family had the consulship in the same year wherein the city first had a consul.—This might have been said: but at present the consulship lies open to us patricians, and to you plebeians without distinction; nor is it as formerly the prize of birth, but of merit. Look forward therefore, soldiers, to the very summit of honors. Although you have given me, among yourselves, and in consequence of the approbation of the gods, the new surname of Corvus, the ancient one of our family, the Publicolæ, is not erased from my memory. I do, and ever did, cultivate the favor of the Roman commons, in war and in peace; in a private station, and in public offices, both high and low; in that of tribune, equally as in that of consul; and with the same tenor of conduct through all my several consulships. As to the present business,

join your endeavors with mine to obtain by the favor of the gods a new and signal triumph over these Samnites.'

33. Never was there a commander who put himself on a more familiar footing with his soldiers, performing every subaltern duty without reluctance. In the military sports, wherein it is the custom for equals to vie with equals in speed and strength, he was condescending and affable; success or defeat made no alteration in him, nor did he disdain any competitor whatever. In his actions, beneficent according to the occasion; in his conversation, as attentive to the ease and freedom of others, as to his own dignity; and what is in the highest degree attractive of public esteem, the same mode of conduct, by which he had gained the magistracy, was pursued by him throughout the whole of his administration. The troops, therefore, universally applauding the exhortations of their commander, marched out of the camp with incredible alacrity. The battle commenced with as equal hopes, and as equal strength, on both sides, as any that ever was fought; each party full of confidence in themselves, without despising their adversary. The Samnites were emboldened by their late exploits, and the having gained two victories within the space of a few days: the Romans, on the other side, by the glorious achievements of four hundred years, and success coeval with the foundation of their city; both parties, however, felt some unusual concern on engaging with a new enemy. The conflict gave proof of the spirit which they possessed; for they maintained it for a considerable time, without either giving way in the least. The consul, since the enemy could not be overpowered by force, endeavored, by a charge of his cavalry, to disorder their foremost battalions; but when he saw their irregular efforts attended with no success, being obliged to wheel their squadrons in a narrow compass, and that they could not open to themselves a passage, he rode back to the van of the legions, and, leaping from his horse, said to them, 'Soldiers, the task belongs to infantry; come on, then: as you shall

see me making way with my sword to the main body of the enemy, so let each, with all his might, beat down those who oppose him. Soon then shall that ground, where their erected spears are now glittering, be effectually cleared by a wide-extended slaughter.' By the time he had uttered these words the cavalry, by his order, turned to the wings, and left the way open for the legions. The consul advanced first, and slew the person whom he happened to engage. Fired at this sight, every one on the right and left of him assaulted his opposite foe with extraordinary fury. The Samnites, though they received a greater number of wounds than they gave, obstinately stood their ground. The battle had now continued a considerable time, and great slaughter was made round the standards of the Samnites, yet in no part were any of them seen to fly; so determined were they to be vanquished by death alone. The Romans, therefore, finding their strength beginning to relax, and that only a small part of the day remained, rushed on the enemy. Now was the first appearance of the Samnites giving ground, and of the matter being likely to end in their flight; great numbers were made prisoners or slain; nor would many of them have survived had not night stopped the pursuit, for it was no longer a battle. On the one side, the Romans acknowledged that they never had fought with a more determined enemy; and on the other, the Samnites, on being asked what was the cause which first impelled men so firm at the outset to fly, made answer that it was occasioned by the eyes of the Romans, which appeared to flash with fire, together with their desperate looks and furious aspect; for that in fact they felt more terror from these, than from any other circumstance. And this terror was confirmed, not only in the issue of the battle, but by their marching away during the night. Next day the Romans took possession of the deserted camp, into which the Campanians poured in a body to congratulate them.

34. But the joy caused by this event had nearly been allayed by a terrible disaster in Samnium; for the con-

sul Cornelius, departing from Saticula, incautiously led his army into a mountainous tract, passable only through a deep defile, and occupied on all sides by the enemy: nor did he perceive their troops posted over his head until it was too late for his men to retreat with safety; while the Samnites waited only until he should bring down the whole of his army into the valley. Publius Decius, a tribune of the soldiers, observed one hill higher than the rest hanging over the enemy's camp, too steep to be climbed by an army incumbered with baggage, but not difficult to troops lightly accoutred. Addressing therefore the consul, who was in great perturbation, he said, 'Aulus Cornelius, do you see that high point above the enemy? That is the bulwark of our hopes and safety, if we are expeditious in making ourselves masters of a post which nothing but blindness could have hindered the enemy from seizing. I ask only the first rank and spearmen of one legion; when I shall have arrived at the summit with these, then do you proceed forward, free from all apprehension, and preserve yourself and the army: for the enemy will not have it in their power to move without bringing destruction on themselves, as they, from occupying the lower ground, will be exposed to every weapon we throw. As for ourselves, either the fortune of the Roman people, or our own courage, will extricate us.' He was highly commended by the consul, and having received the body of troops which he desired, made his way through the mountains by concealed paths; nor was he noticed by the enemy until he came near the spot which he wished to gain: they were then universally seized with astonishment and affright; so that, attracting the eyes of all to himself, he gave time to the consul to lead off his troops to more favorable ground, while he took post himself on the highest summit. The Samnites, marching their forces sometimes towards one side, sometimes towards the other, lost the opportunity of effecting either business; for they could neither pursue the consul, except

through the same defile in which they lately had him under the power of their weapons, nor march up their men against the acclivity, to the eminence occupied by Decius, over their heads. They were enraged principally against those who had snatched from them the opportunity of acting with success, and the nearness of their situation, and the smallness of the party, would have led them to seek for vengeance there: but they could resolve on nothing: at one time it was intended to surround the hill on all sides with troops, and thus cut off Decius from the consul; at another, to leave open a passage, and then to fall on him, when he should have descended into the defile: night however came on them before they had determined which measure to pursue. Decius at first entertained hopes that he might engage them advantageously, as they should advance against the steep; and was afterwards surprised that they did not proceed to attack him, or, if they were deterred by the difficulty of the ground, that they did not surround him with works. At length, calling the centurions to him, he said, ‘What a want of military skill, and what indolence do they not discover? How did such men as these gain a victory over the Sidicinians and Campanians? See how their battalions move to and fro, sometimes collected into one spot, sometimes drawn out for a march: not a man doing any thing, although, by this time, they might have surrounded us with a rampart. As this is the case, we should too much resemble them if we remained here longer than is expedient. Come on, then; follow me, that, while there is yet some little daylight remaining, we may discover in what places they post their guards, and if there is a passage for us left open.’ Of all these matters he took an accurate view, clad in a soldier’s vest; the centurions, whom he took with him, being also in the dress of common soldiers, lest the enemy should take notice of the commander going the round.

35. Having placed watch-guards in proper places,

he commanded notice to be issued, by ticket,¹ to all the rest, that, on the signal being given, by the cornet sounding the second watch, they should come to him silently in arms. When they had assembled there, according to their orders, he addressed them thus: 'Soldiers, silence is necessary; you must therefore listen to me, without testifying your approbation in the usual manner. When I shall have fully explained my sentiments to you, then such of you as agree in opinion with me will pass over, without noise, to the right: on whichever side the majority shall be, that judgment shall be followed. Now hear what I have to propose. The enemy have surrounded you; but not in consequence of your taking refuge here in cowardice. By valor you seized this spot; by valor you must make your way from it. By coming hither, you have saved a most valuable army to the Roman people; by forcing your passage hence, save yourselves. It becomes your character that, though few in number, you afford succor to multitudes, while you yourselves need no aid. The enemy whom you have to deal with is the same who, yesterday, stupidly neglected to make use of the opportunity which fortune had put in their hands, of cutting off our whole army; who never saw this hill hanging with such advantage over their heads until they found us in possession of it; and who, with all the thousands of which their forces consist, neither prevented the ascent of such a small party as ours, nor, when we became masters of the place, surrounded us with intrenchments, though there was so much of the day remaining. Those whom you baffled in such a manner, while they were awake, it is your business to elude when they are buried in sleep. Nay, there is a

¹ The common method of communicating the watchword, and such orders as required expedition, was, to write them on a small tablet or ticket, which the tribunes sent to the first centurion, by whom it was sent on to the next; and thus it passed to all the centurions in order, until it came to the last, who returned it to the tribune.

necessity for it; for in such a situation are our affairs, that my part is rather to point out what necessity enforces than to offer you counsel: for whether you are to stay, or to remove from this place, admits not of deliberation. Fortune has left us nothing here, besides our arms and courage to make use of them: and consequently, we must perish through hunger and thirst, if we fear the sword of the enemy beyond what becomes men and Romans. There is therefore but one way to safety; and that is, to sally forth. This we must do either by day or by night. But there is another consideration that cuts off all hesitation; which is, that if we wait for the light, we can have no hope that the enemy, who at present encompass the hill on all sides, as you see, with their bodies exposed at disadvantage, will not hem us in with a continued rampart and trench. If night then be favorable to a sally, as it appears to be, this certainly is the fittest hour of it. You assembled here on the signal of the second watch, a time in which your foes are sunk in the profoundest sleep. You will pass among them, either in silence, intirely escaping their notice, or ready, if they should perceive you, to terrify them with a sudden shout. Only follow me, whom you have hitherto followed. The same fortune which conducted us hither will conduct us home. And now, such of you as are of opinion that this is a salutary plan come over with me to the right.'

36. Every man of them went over and followed Decius, who bent his way through the spaces which lay open between the guards. They had now passed the middle of the camp, when a soldier, striding over the bodies of the watchmen, who lay asleep on the ground, by striking one of their shields occasioned a noise; on which the watchman, being roused, stirred the next to him, and each as he awoke called up the rest, ignorant whether these were friends or foes, whether the party had sallied from the hill, or the consul had taken their camp. Decius, finding that he was discovered, or-

dered his men to raise a shout, and thus disheartened them with affright before they had shaken off the heaviness of sleep, perplexing them to such a degree that they were incapable of taking arms briskly, so as to make head against, or to harass him in pursuit. During this consternation and confusion of the Samnites, the party of Romans, killing such of the guards as fell in their way, made good their passage to the camp of the consul. There was a considerable part of the night yet to come, and they now seemed to be in safety, when Decius said to them, ‘Roman soldiers, I honor your bravery: ages to come shall extol both your enterprise and your return. But in order that others may be gratified with a view of such eminent merit, light is requisite: nor is it fitting that you be concealed under darkness and silence, while returning into the camp with such distinguished glory. Here let us wait in quiet for the day.’ His words were obeyed; and, as soon as morning appeared, a messenger being sent forward into the camp to the consul, the troops there were roused from sleep to excessive joy; and the news being conveyed round by ticket that those men were returning in safety, who had exposed themselves to such imminent danger for the preservation of them all, they poured out in a body eagerly to meet them; praised them, congratulated them, called them each and all together their preservers; gave thanks and praises to the gods, and almost worshipped Decius. Thus did the tribune enjoy a kind of triumph in the camp, as he marched through the middle of it, with his party in arms, all men fixing their eyes on, and honoring him, in the same manner as the consul. When they arrived at the general’s tent the consul summoned an assembly by sound of trumpet; but which (after having begun to expatiate on the merits of Decius) he adjourned, on the interposition of Decius himself; who recommended that every other business should be postponed while it was in their power to improve the occasion which presented

itself. He then advised the consul to attack the enemy while they were under consternation, and scattered round the hill in detached parties: adding, that he even believed that numbers who had been sent out in pursuit of him were straggling through the forest. The legions were accordingly ordered to take arms, and, marching out of camp, the forest being now better known by means of scouts, were led towards the enemy through a more open tract. By sudden and unexpected attacks, the soldiers of the Samnites being dispersed up and down, and most of them unarmed, as was supposed, they first drove them in a panic into the camp, and then, after beating off the guards, took the camp itself. The shout spread quite round the hill, and put all the parties to flight from their several posts. Thus a great part of them yielded the victory to an enemy whom they did not see. Those whose fears had driven them within the ramparts, amounting to thirty thousand, were all put to the sword. The camp was plundered.

37. The business being thus concluded, the consul again called an assembly, and pronounced a panegyric on Decius; representing his actions, not merely as he had begun to recite them, but as consummated since by a new display of merit; and, besides other military gifts, presented him with a golden crown and a hundred oxen, one of them white, of extraordinary beauty, richly ornamented, and having gilded horns. To the soldiers who had been on the party with him he assigned a double portion of corn for ever, with an ox and two vests to each. Besides the consul's donations, the legions set on Decius' head a crown of grass, denoting deliverance from a blockade, accompanying the present with a military shout of approbation. Another crown, expressive of the same compliment, was put on his head by his own party. Decorated with these honorable emblems, he sacrificed the beautiful white ox to Mars, and bestowed the others on the soldiers who had accompanied him in the expedition. To

the same soldiers the legions made a contribution, each man of a pound of corn, and a pint of wine ; all this was performed with an extraordinary degree of cordiality, accompanied with the military shout, a token of universal approbation. The third battle was fought near Suessula, where the army of the Samnites, which had been routed by Marcus Valerius, being joined by all the able young men of their nation, whom they called from home, determined to try their fortune in a final contest. From Suessula hasty messengers came to Capua, and horsemen from thence at full speed to the consul Valerius, to beg for succor. The troops were quickly put in motion, and, leaving a strong guard with the baggage in the camp, proceeded on their march with rapidity. They chose for their camp a very narrow spot, at a small distance from the enemy, as they were not attended by a crowd of servants, and having no other battle than horses. The Samnites without delay drew up in order of battle ; and, when they found no army was sent to meet them, advanced in readiness for action to the Roman camp. When they saw the soldiers on the rampart, and when the scouts brought accounts from every quarter into how narrow a compass the camp was contracted, they thence inferred that the number of the enemy was but small. The whole army began to exclaim that they ought to fill up the trenches, tear down the rampart, and break into the camp ; and in that rash manner they would have proceeded had not their leaders restrained their impetuosity. However, as their own great numbers bore hard on their supplies, and as in consequence of their lying so long at Suessula, and of the battle being now deferred, they had a prospect of being shortly in want of every thing, they resolved that while the enemy remained shut up, and in appearance through fear, their troops should be led out into the country to forage. They had supposed too that the Romans, having marched in haste, could have brought no more corn with them than they were able

to carry on their shoulders, along with their arms, so that they would in a little time be reduced to actual distress. When the consul observed that the enemy were dispersed over the country, and that the guards which they had left were not numerous, after exhorting his soldiers in few words, he led them to an attack of their camp; and having taken it, (a greater number being slain in their tents than at the gates or on the rampart,) he ordered the standards taken from them to be collected together. Then, leaving two legions to guard them, with strict injunctions to abstain from plundering until he should return, he set out with his troops in regular order; and sending on the cavalry before him, to drive the scattered Samnites together, as if with hunting toils, made great slaughter of them: for in their fright they could neither fix on any signal to collect their troops in a body, nor resolve whether they should repair to the camp, or fly to a greater distance. Such was their consternation, and such the precipitancy of their flight, that there were brought to the consul not less than forty thousand shields, though there was nothing like that number of slain; and of military standards, including those which had been taken within their ranks, one hundred and seventy. He then returned to the enemy's camp, the intire spoil of which he gave to the soldiers.

38. The event of this engagement obliged the Faliscians, who were under the terms of a truce, to petition the senate for a treaty of alliance; and induced the Latines, who had their armies already prepared, to turn their operations from the Romans against the Pelignians. Nor was the same of these successes confined within the limits of Italy: the Carthaginians also sent ambassadors to Rome with congratulations, and with a present of a golden crown, weighing twenty-five pounds, to be placed in Jupiter's shrine in the capitol. Both the consuls triumphed over the Samnites, while Decius followed them, highly distinguished by praises and presents; and, in the rough jests of the soldiers,

the name of the tribune was heard as frequently as those of the commanders. The embassies of the Campanians and Suessans were then heard ; and, in compliance with their petitions, a body of troops was sent thither into winter-quarters, to protect them against the incursions of the Samnites. Capua, even at that time, destructive of military discipline through the allurements of every kind of pleasures, so debauched the minds of the soldiers as to alienate their affections from their country ; and schemes were formed in their winter-quarters to take Capua from the Campanians by the same wicked means by which they themselves had taken it from its ancient possessors. ' Nor was there any injustice,' they said, ' in turning their own example on themselves : for why should the Campanians, who were unable to defend either their persons or their property, enjoy the most fertile lands in Italy, and a city proportioned to the goodness of those lands, rather than the victorious army, who, at the expense of their sweat and blood, had driven the Samnites out of it? Was it reasonable that these should have the full enjoyment of such a fruitful and delicious country, while they, after being spent with the fatigues of war, must toil in the unwholesome and parched soil round their own city, or, within the city, endure the oppressive grievance of interest-money daily increasing?' These schemes were agitated in secret cabals, and as yet communicated only to a few, when the new consul, Caius Marcius Rutilus, came among them, the province of Campania having fallen to him by lot, his colleague Quintus Servilius being left in the city. He was a man of good judgment, matured both by age and experience, for he was then in his fourth consulship, and had served the offices of dictator and censor. [A.U.C. 413. B.C. 339.] When therefore he was informed by the tribunes of all the circumstances of the affair, he concluded that the best method of proceeding would be, to frustrate the violent designs of the soldiery, by prolonging the period during which they

might hope to be able to execute their design whenever they pleased; and accordingly, he caused a report to be spread that the troops were to have their winter quarters, for the next year, in the towns they then occupied: for they had been cantoned in different places of Campania, and the plot had spread from Capua through the whole army. Their eagerness in pursuit of their design being by these means relaxed, the mutiny was composed for the present.

39. The consul, on leading out his troops to the summer campaign, resolved, while he found the Samnites quiet, to purge the army by dismissing the turbulent men; some he discharged under the pretence of their having served out their regular time; others, as being enfeebled by age, or otherwise debilitated: several were sent away on furloughs, at first singly; afterwards even several cohorts, because they had spent the winter at a great distance from home, and from their private concerns: others too, were despatched to different places under pretence of the business of the army, by which means a great part of them were removed out of the way. All these the other consul and the pretor detained under various pretences at Rome. At first the men, not suspecting the artifice practised on them, were not displeased at the thought of revisiting their homes. But when they perceived that none returned to their standards, and that moreover hardly any were dismissed except those who had wintered in Campania, and of these the fomenters of the mutiny in particular, they at first began to wonder, and afterwards to fear, what seemed beyond a doubt, that their designs had been divulged; and that they would have to undergo trials, discoveries, secret punishments of individuals, and the cruel and unrestrained tyranny of the consuls and senate. These were the subjects of secret conferences among the troops in the camp, when they observed that those who were the sinews of the conspiracy had been sent away through the art of the consul. One cohort,

coming near Anxur, seated themselves at Lautulæ, in a narrow woody pass, between the sea and the mountains, in order to intercept those who were daily dismissed under various pretexts, as has been mentioned. Their body soon grew strong in numbers; nor was any thing now wanting of the form of a regular army, except a leader. Without order, however, and plundering the country in their way, they came into the Alban territory, and under the hill of Alba Longa inclosed their camp with a rampart; where, when the work was finished, they spent the remainder of the day in discussing different opinions respecting the choice of a commander, having no great confidence in the abilities of any who were present. And 'on whom,' they said, 'could they prevail to come out from Rome on their invitation? What man was there among the patricians or plebeians, who would, with his eyes open, expose himself to such imminent danger; or, to whom could the cause of the army, driven to madness by ill treatment, be properly confided? Next day, while they were employed in deliberating on the same subject, some of the rambling marauders brought intelligence that Titus Quintius was cultivating his farm in the territory of Tusculum, regardless of the city and of its honors. He was of patrician race, who, being obliged to relinquish the military profession, in which he had acquired great glory, in consequence of one of his feet being lamed by a wound, determined to spend his life in the country, far from ambition and the contentions of the forum. As soon as his name was heard they immediately recognised the man; and, with wishes of success to the measure, ordered him to be sent for. But as there was little room to hope that he would voluntarily appear in the cause, it was resolved that both menaces and force should be employed. Accordingly those who were sent for the purpose, entering his house in the dead of night, while he lay composed in sleep, and denouncing, as the only alternative, either honor and command, or, when he

made opposition, death, they brought him by force to their camp. Immediately on his arrival he was saluted general, and while he was terrified at this unaccountable and sudden transaction, they brought to him the ensigns of the office, and insisted on his leading them to the city. Then, with haste dictated by their own unruliness, taking up the standards, they came in hostile array to the eighth stone on the road, which is now the Appian, and would have proceeded directly to the city had they not been told that an army was coming to meet them; Marcus Valerius Corvus being nominated dictator, and Lucius Æmilius Mamercinus master of the horse.

40. As soon as the army sent to oppose them came in sight, and they distinguished the well-known arms and standards, their regard for their country instantly reviving, softened the resentment of every breast. They were not yet hardy enough to shed the blood of their countrymen: they had never yet known any but foreign wars; and secession from their fellow-citizens was deemed the utmost effort of rage. Now therefore the leaders, and even the soldiers on both sides, expressed a desire that there should be a meeting held for a negotiation. Accordingly, on one side, Quintius, who would not have borne arms, even in favor of his country, but with extreme reluctance, and of course with much greater against it; and on the other, Corvus, who entertained the warmest affection for every one of his countrymen, particularly the soldiery, and above all others, those who had served under his own banner, advanced to a conference. The instant the latter appeared the same respectful deference was paid to him by his adversaries which his own men manifested by their silence: he then addressed them in this manner: 'Soldiers, at my departure from the city, I made it my earnest prayer to the immortal gods, whom you, the public, and myself adore, and humbly implored them of their goodness to grant me not a victory over you, but the happiness of restoring

concord. The time past has afforded, and doubtless the future will afford, occasions enough for the acquisition of military glory. At the present, peace should be the object of our wishes. The request which I urged to the immortal gods, whilst I offered up my vows, it is in your power to fulfil for me, if you will allow yourselves to recollect that your camp stands not in Samnium, nor in the territory of the Volscians, but on Roman ground; that those hills which you see are your native soil; that this army is composed of your countrymen; that I am your own consul, under whose conduct and auspices you last year twice defeated the legions of the Samnites, and twice took their camp by storm. Soldiers, I am Marcus Valerius Corvus, whose nobility of birth you have ever felt to be productive of benefits to you, not of ill treatment. I have been the adviser of no severe law against your interest, of no cruel decree of the senate; in every post of command which I have held, more strict towards myself than you. Yet, if any man might presume on birth, on personal merit, on high dignity, and on public honors, I might; for I am descended from ancestors so distinguished, and I have besides given such proof of my own qualifications, that I attained the honor of the consulship when only twenty-three years old: I might then assume a degree of pride not only towards the commons, but towards the patricians. But in what instance did you ever hear that I either acted or spoke with greater harshness, when consul, than when only a tribune? The same has been the constant tenor of my administration in two successive consulships; the same shall it be, in this uncontrollable office of dictator. So that I shall be found not more gentle to these my own soldiers, and the soldiers of my country, than to you (it shocks me so to call you) its enemies. You shall therefore draw the sword against me before I unsheath it against you: on your side, if a battle must take place, the signal shall be sounded; from your side the shouts and onset shall

begin. You must determine then to do what neither your grandfathers nor fathers could; neither those who seceded to the Sacred Mount, nor yet those who afterwards took post on the Aventine. Wait until your wives and mothers come out from the city with dishevelled hair, as formerly to Coriolanus. At that time the legions of the Volscians, because they had a Roman for their leader, ceased from hostilities. And will not you, an army of Romans, desist from this unnatural war? Titus Quintius, under whatever circumstances you stand on that side, whether voluntarily, or through compulsion, if the business must be decided by arms, do you then retire to the rear. It will be more honorable for you to turn your back and fly, than to fight against your country. You will at present stand with propriety and honor among the foremost for the promoting of peaceful measures, and may you be a salutary agent in this conference. Let your demands and your offers be reasonable; although indeed it were better to admit even unreasonable terms than engage in an unnatural combat with each other.'

41. Titus Quintius then turning to his party, his eyes full of tears, said, 'In me too, soldiers, if I am of any use, you have a better leader to peace than to war; for he who has spoken what you have just now heard is not a Volscian nor a Samnite, but a Roman: he, soldiers, is your own consul, your own general; the influence of whose auspices you have already experienced operating in your favor. Wish not then to try its effects against you. The senate could have employed other commanders, who would fight against you with animosity; but they chose the one who would be most tender of you, who were his own soldiers, and in whom, as your own general, you could most thoroughly confide. Even those who have conquest in their power wish for peace: what, then, ought to be our wish? Why do we not, renouncing both anger and hope, those fallacious guides, resign ourselves and all our

interests to his well-known honor?' All declaring their approbation by a shout, Titus Quintius advanced before the standards and said, that 'the soldiers would be governed by the dictator:' he besought them to 'undertake the cause of those his unfortunate countrymen, and support it, under his patronage, with the same honor which had ever marked his administration of the public affairs. That with regard to his own particular case, he stipulated no terms, he wished not to found a hope on aught but innocence. But provision should be made for the safety of the soldiers, as had been formerly practised by the senate, once, in the case of the commons, and a second time in that of the legions, so that no one should suffer for the secession.' The dictator, highly commending Quintius, and desiring the others to hope for the best, rode back with speed to the city, and, with the approbation of the senate, proposed to the people assembled in the Peteline grove that none of the soldiers should be punished on account of the secession; and even made it his request to them, which he hoped they would approve, that no person, either in jest or earnest, should upbraid any of them with that proceeding. A military law was also passed, sanctioned with a devoting clause, that the name of any soldier, once inrolled, should not be erased without his own consent; and it was included in the law that no person who had been a tribune of the soldiers should afterwards be a centurion. This demand of the conspirators was pointed against Publius Salinius, who had long been alternately tribune of the soldiers, and first centurion, which they now call 'primipili.' The soldiers were incensed against him, because he had always opposed their licentious proceedings, and, to avoid being concerned therein, had fled from Lantulæ. This was the only proposal with which the senate refused to comply; on which Salinius, earnestly intreating the conscript fathers not to pay greater regard to his promotion than to the public concord, prevailed on them to let that also pass. There was

another requisition, equally unreasonable, that a deduction of one-third should be made from the pay of the cavalry, because they had opposed the conspiracy. They at that time received triple the pay of the foot.

42. Besides these regulations, I find in some writers that Lucius Genucius, plebeian tribune, proposed a law to the people, that no one should lend money at interest. Likewise that, by other orders of the commons, it was enacted that no person should hold the same public office a second time within ten years, or enjoy two offices in the same year; and that it should be lawful to elect both the consuls from among the plebeians. If all these concessions were really made, it is evident that the revolvers possessed no small degree of strength. According to the accounts of other historians, Valerius was not nominated dictator, but the whole business was managed by the consuls; nor was it before they came to Rome, but in the city itself that the conspirators became so desperate as to have recourse to arms. That the attack by night was not at the country-seat of Titus Quintius, but at the house of Caius Manlius, on whom they laid violent hands, and made him their leader; then, marching out as far as the fourth stone, they took possession of a strong post; also, that no mention of a reconciliation was first made by the commanders, but that after the troops had marched out to battle mutual salutations suddenly took place; and that the soldiers mixing together, began to shake hands, and embrace each other with tears; and that the consuls, finding the minds of the soldiers averse from fighting, were obliged to make the proposition to the senate of admitting the revolvers to terms. So that in no circumstance do the ancient writers of the history agree, except in relating that there was a mutiny, and that it was composed. The report of this sedition, and the heavy war, undertaken at the same time against the Samnites, induced several nations to forsake the alliance of the Romans; and

besides the Latines, who were known for a long time past to be in a disposition to break the treaty, the Privernians also, by a sudden incursion, ravaged Norba and Setia, colonies of the Romans, which lay in their neighborhood.

END OF VOL. II.

